

UNDER FIRE

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
IN A HOSTILE WORLD

BY


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TO
K.M.C., B.H.C., AND P.L.C.
WHO BELONG TO
THE NEW GENERATION WHICH WILL
HAVE THE TASK OF BUILDING A BETTER WORLD

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that there has been an invading army on Chinese soil for over three years, the Church might find itself unable to prevent the most peace-loving people on earth becoming a war-minded nation. 614405 126/13 '22

In India the Christian Church is faced with a peculiarly subtle form of attack. It consists of an attempt to turn the tide of national sentiment against Christianity on the ground that it is an alien importation from the West. In India's present mood this is a powerful weapon and Hindu leaders are going to use it to the full. A Church that has many generations of indigenous life can meet such an attack without fear, but when the Church is young and still dependent on foreign leadership and help the defence is not so easy. It is likely that this attack will become more determined as India advances towards complete self-government.

The problem that stands across the path of the Christian Church in Africa is of a very different character. It is the threat of the complete collapse of African society. The social structure has so far given way that many of the shrewdest observers believe that it is beyond repair, and that the African is likely to become completely detached from his social background and belong nowhere. The Christian Church is being attacked as being in part responsible for the breakdown of tribalism, and is at the same time being challenged to provide some new order of social life that can

be substituted for the tribal system. Such a demand might daunt the wisest and most experienced of men; whether the young African Church, even with help from the Older Churches can face it without wilting has yet to be proved.

In the Negro world the Christian Church has to face the fire of those who accuse it of tolerating a colour bar within its own life and of being too cowardly or too supine to take the lead in dealing radically with it in society. There is no question as to the real Christian attitude. It was expressed with unmistakable clarity for the whole Christian Church by the Madras Conference. "God has made all peoples of one blood. No race can therefore disregard the rights and interests of other races. Racial persecution is particularly abhorrent. The Church should exert its influence on the side of all movements working for the full and equal sharing by all races in the common life of mankind. In doing this the Church must purg its own life of any racial discrimination."¹

The threat to the Christian Church in the European countries comes from the exaltation of new gods of blood and soil and class. One or other of these is set up as the final value, the ultimate worth, the thing to which all else is subservient. In general it takes the form of an attempt on the part of the ruling authority to strengthen its control by weaving together man's two major loyalties, his patriotism and his sense of obligation to

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 137.

the unseen and eternal source of all values. The Oxford Conference was quite explicit about this attack. "The deification of one's own people is sin against God. 'Thou shalt have none other Gods but me.' To see in one's own people (in one's own blood, or class or state) the saving revelation of God is anti-Christian."¹ To meet this attack Christianity will need to recapture its own totalitarian quality, its own absolute position, and its own universal range, and Christians will need to put behind their teaching of the universal God enough emotional momentum to sustain them under this onslaught.

This is not the full extent of the contemporary attack. In some parts of the world it has developed into such active and open hostility that it is no exaggeration to say that the days of the persecution of the Christian Church have begun again. It must be many generations since there were so many Christian men and women in prison or in concentration camps, in East and West, as there are to-day. Their chief offence seems to be that they own allegiance to Jesus Christ. In recent months Western missionaries have been driven out of Japan, and a Western missionary society has had to withdraw from Formosa. Japanese Christians who are inconveniently prominent have been arrested, and leading Manchurian Christians have suffered such constant interference and petty persecution, that they have been driven to quit the

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, p. 76.

country. In Ceylon there is a rising tide of Buddhist opposition, and in Travancore there is legislative discrimination. In Sinkiang (Eastern Turkestan) foreign missionaries, who were permitted to operate with considerable freedom a few years ago, have of late, on one pretext or another, been eliminated, until the last Protestant missionary was expelled in 1938 and the last Roman Catholic in 1940. Fifty years ago it was usual to speak of countries with "closed doors", meaning that the countries in question had never been officially opened to the messenger of Christ. To-day the Christian Church faces the more sinister phenomenon of the "closing doors", meaning that the countries in question have previously been open to the Christian missionary but are now closing against him. These are but samples. Others of a somewhat similar character could be drawn from Christian experience in Moslem lands and in Latin America.

It may be doubted if there has ever been a period when the Christian Church has been beset by so many and such powerful foes, or had to face attack in such different forms and from so many directions. It is not surprising that there is apprehension about the future.

In certain quarters the view is steadily gaining ground that the Christian Church will have to take to the catacombs.

Nicholas Berdyaev expresses what is in many minds when he writes, "More keenly than ever

I feel that night and shadow are descending on the world, as was the case at the beginning of the Middle Ages."¹ There is, they say, the same kind of moral chaos, the same repudiation of standards of thought and conduct, the same letting loose of demonic forces, the same fatal dissidence in the structure of society. Mr. Middleton Murry is the mouthpiece for many others when he declares that Western industrial civilization stands condemned especially by its inability to deal with unemployment. Its final shame, as it seems to him, is in the fact that only by war can the unemployed gain steady work. "In us", say the unemployed, "you behold the hidden truth of your society; for we are those for whom your war is peace, and your peace is war."² There is, in this view, no possibility of Christianizing our machine-civilization; it is past praying for. It must just be left to work out its own damnation. This may well mean a series of collectivist wars, the result of which will be that some form of secular collectivism will be set up and that the Christian Church will be driven for a period from the public scene and forced to return to the catacombs.

It is doubtful whether such a pessimistic interpretation is defensible, especially in view of the emergence of the Younger Churches. The arrival of these vigorous and growing Christian communities has altered the face of the whole religious

¹ *The Fate of Man in the Modern World.*

² *Europe in Travail*, p. 26.

world. Already it is clear that they have something to teach. In the West religion has to a large extent become isolated from life, and the Church has been pushed by our industrialized society into the position of being a thing apart. It is just here that the Younger Churches can help, for they are still closely related to the common life. The invigorating forces, especially in rural life, come largely from the Church, whether it is on the North China Plain or in a South India village or in a Malagasy township. The Christian community is not a fellowship merely when it meets for worship; it is a fellowship in all its activities. The Church is the centre round which the whole life of the community revolves and in which, in many places, it is being reborn. One of the worthwhile things for the Older Churches to do to-day is to inquire closely into this with a view to applying its lesson within their own life.

Nor is it too late to effect a radical change in this country. Great Britain is still at heart the most Christian nation of the Western tradition. Its people are readier than any to accept a strong lead from the Christian Church, and in this day, when all other voices are discredited, who can say to what it may not grow?

"Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?" Ellwood's words are worth a moment's pause. The flaming sword of fear, mistrust, revenge and war, turning every way, has once more driven mankind

from the Paradise it hoped to hold. Every newspaper and every railway conversation tells of Paradise Lost. Is there anything that can be said about Paradise Found?

The question was answered at the Madras Conference in 1938, almost before it was asked. It was answered both in the message of the Conference and in its mood. Amongst the delegates were men and women from every area of attack in the world's life. They were well aware of the various forms of onslaught that were being made upon the Christian movement; and they knew in their own personal experience the pressure of the problems and the nature of the threats. Yet they were undismayed. That is the significant fact. The Christian Church, as represented by the Madras Conference, is facing the fire without flinching. The seven volumes of the Report reveal, on the one hand, that the facts were frankly and realistically faced, and, on the other hand, that the dominant concern of the Christian Church, especially its younger branches, is not how to defend its position but how to advance the Christian enterprise.

The main source of this courage and confidence was the growth of the Younger Churches in numbers and in leadership. When the Jerusalem Conference met in 1928 there were approximately 8,000,000 Protestant Christians in the mission field; when the Madras Conference met ten years later the number had reached approximately 13,000,000.

or an increase of 68 per cent. During the decade there had been an increase of 40 per cent in China, 50 per cent in India and Japan, 100 per cent in Africa and 150 per cent in Latin America. At no time in Christian history has such progress been made.

However arresting these figures may be, the growth in spiritual stature of the members of the Younger Churches is even more impressive. The contribution made to the thought and life of the Conference by the representatives of the Younger Churches was of outstanding importance. In spiritual insight, in intellectual discernment and in sound judgment they were no whit behind those who came from the Older Churches. That Churches, with only about a hundred years of life behind them, should be able to produce from amongst their own sons and daughters, those who can stand side by side with the chosen representatives of the Older Churches is almost too good to be true.

The arrival of the Younger Churches is perhaps the most significant single fact in the contemporary Christian world. It alters the world's Christian centre of gravity and bears witness to the present activity of the Living God. If it is true that the Christian Church is beset with enemies behind and before, it is equally true that it has within itself the proof of the presence of the Lord; and if it is under fire in a hostile world it is in a mood to move out like an army with banners against all foes.

INTRODUCTION

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The attempt is made in this book to show the Christian Church standing up to the many-sided attack, and in the very process demonstrating that it is God's answer to a stricken and divided world.

CHAPTER I

IN JAPAN: RENDER UNTO CÆSAR

THE challenge to Christianity to-day comes, not from the great organized religions of the world, but from the new exaltation of the state. In spite of certain reform movements within the Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan faiths, no one believes that these religions are seriously bidding for the allegiance of mankind, or could succeed if they made the attempt. They have neither the moral nor the intellectual equipment to maintain themselves against the corroding influences of the modern world. They cannot hold their own, much less make headway against the other claimants that are in the field. It is fairly certain that, in spite of occasional flickerings of new life, the great organized religions of Asia and Africa are slowly losing grip. The really serious threat to the Christian religion is to be found in the claim which the state is making to the total allegiance of the citizen in every area of his life. The state is, in fact, making demands which only religion has hitherto made, or has had the right to make. It is making these demands because it is, to all intents and purposes, the effective religion of millions of modern men. The totalitarian state

is the new object of devotion, and is bringing with it a whole new set of values.

Japan affords as clear an example of totalitarianism as can be found, in view of the fact that Japanese patriotism has been given a religious flavour by the twofold affirmation that the Emperor is the personification of the state, and that as a divine person he is a proper object of veneration and of worship.

It is not easy for a Westerner to understand, much less to sympathize with, the typical Japanese attitude towards the state and the Imperial House. It has no parallel amongst the democratic nations. In the mind of the Japanese there is never a question in regard to the absoluteness and the rightness of the state's claim. It is accepted as unquestioningly as the air men breathe. There is nothing new in this devotion to the state; on the contrary, it is entirely in keeping with the ancient tradition of the land. What is new is that it is being focussed in the Emperor who is regarded as a personification of the state.

Another process also is at work. The Emperor is being proclaimed as a divine being in direct descent from Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess. He is not to be regarded as the supreme executive of the Government, or as the organ of the state, or even as the mouthpiece of the people. He must not be compared with the American President or the British King. He is not placed in position and given authority by the will of the people. This

democratic or "organ of the state" theory, as it is called, has been officially denounced. The correct view is that his power is self-derived, or rather that it comes from his divine ancestry. It is his by right. He can, however, bestow it, and he does. To that extent the people as a whole share in his divine status. It is this fact that helps to give a Messianic quality to the attitude of the average Japanese citizen towards his country and her destiny. It is not surprising that something like a doctrine of imperial infallibility is in process of being formulated. It is asserted, for example, that if there is an error in Japan's public policy, it is not because the Emperor has been mistaken in his decision, but because the Ministers of State have tendered the wrong advice. Throughout the land there is a growing Emperor-cult, which is being fostered in certain quarters for political reasons. The military caste, in particular, is eager to aid this apotheosis of the Emperor, since the Japanese constitution is so framed that the Army is not answerable to Parliament, but takes its instructions direct from the Emperor. Any exaltation of the Imperial Person, therefore, adds to the Army's authority and prestige.

Over and above this political emphasis on the cult, it is to be noted that the Emperor holds a quite unique position in the mind of the average Japanese citizen. He is regarded as being different from ordinary mortals, and even from ordinary rulers. A handful of soldiers, on being

drafted to the front, immediately march to the grounds of the Imperial Palace, go as near to it as is permitted, stand to attention for a few minutes, then raise their hands and shout. It is not a public demonstration intended to impress the crowd; and it is not just a dutiful acknowledgment of the Head of the State. It is the private and almost religious act of a dozen men. In spirit and purpose it is akin to a soldier's last visit to a temple or shrine before joining his unit. Or in a school at a certain stage in the day's work, everyone turns reverently towards the Imperial Palace and bows, much as a Moslem does towards Mecca. In this corporate acknowledgment there is something more than patriotism, at least as that word is understood in the West. There is a religious quality in the hush and reverence that accompany it.

Of late this Emperor-cult has been carried yet further. Schools, colleges, and similar institutions receive from time to time the offer of a copy of the imperial portrait. It is an offer which cannot be refused, and when the portrait arrives certain conditions are attached. It is strictly required that the portrait shall be housed in a place of honour and safety, where it is exposed neither to disrespect from rowdy or unseemly behaviour nor to damage from fire, flood or theft. On such occasions as national festivals or victory days it is unveiled with considerable ceremonial, and all who are present bow reverently before it. It is also required that the unveiling function shall take

place in the most honourable hall in the institution, and that the portrait shall be placed higher than the most honourable object in the hall. The significance of this for a Christian college is that the ceremony must take place in the college chapel, that the portrait must be raised above either pulpit or altar, and that the brief document, known as the Imperial Rescript, which has to be read on these occasions, must be placed on a specially provided shelf or desk higher than that which carries the Bible.

It may be claimed that there is little more in this ceremony than in many another patriotic acknowledgment. In particular it may be argued that it is not unlike the bowing to the portrait of Sun Yat Sen and the reading of his will that took place every week in the schools of China. But the two cases are not as similar as they may at first appear. The practical-minded Chinese never regarded their act as anything more than a salute to the "Father of the Republic". It certainly had no religious significance for them. But the case is different with the Japanese. Their naturally reverential and almost mystical attitude towards the state easily passes over into a semi-religious cult. In some schools a special "Receptacle" has been provided to house the portrait, which bids fair to take on the attributes and atmosphere of a shrine, and to gather a semi-religious cult around it.

In some Christian institutions an attempt was

made to prevent the growth of an Emperor-cult by reading the Bible and offering Christian prayers at the unveiling ceremonies; but the practice became known to the authorities and was officially forbidden. In other Christian colleges, in order to avoid a clash between the requirements of the Government and the scruples of the Christian conscience, small steel receptacles are being built in the college grounds. These structures can readily be made to conform to the requirements of due honour and safety, and there is the added advantage that the unveiling ceremony is held in the open air, where there can be no question of any contrast in the dignity and reverence shown to the portrait on the one hand and to the altar and the Bible on the other.

Another illustration of the Japanese attempt to endow the state with a religious quality is seen in the division which has been made between Sect Shinto and State Shinto. The former, it is officially claimed, has a religious, and the latter a political function. The Government affirms that with Sect Shinto it has no direct concern; that it is a purely religious affair, and comes within the scope of the Shinto priests. State Shinto, on the other hand, the Government goes on to affirm, is its affair. It is in fact carried on by the Government and falls within the office of the Minister of Education. Its priests or officiants are mainly retired generals or admirals or other Government servants. Its aim is to keep up the national morale

by inculcating reverence and gratitude to the ancestors, by exalting the good of the state to a supreme position, and by acclaiming the Emperor both as the representative of the country and as the divine descendant of the Sun-Goddess.

The Government has decreed that, in order that the national spirit may be upheld and the national unity preserved, school children and college students shall attend the State Shinto shrines from time to time for special celebrations. Sometimes nothing more is required than a visit to the shrine and a ceremonial bow. At other times the students are required to be present when salutations and prayers are offered to the divine ancestral spirits of the nation. The Government has again and again proclaimed that these celebrations are purely patriotic and need arouse no religious scruples. They draw attention to the fact that freedom of religion is guaranteed under the Japanese constitution. But for the average man, and certainly for the average Christian, what takes place at the shrine is pretty much the same as any other Shinto ceremony. There is the usual ceremonial bowing to the spirits of the national heroes and the ancestors; there is the usual repetition of certain sentences that are at least akin to prayers; and there is the usual priest in charge. These are the normal accompaniments of all Shinto worship. It must, however, be acknowledged that there is no clapping of hands, which is claimed to be the distinctively religious act.

The Roman Catholic Church has taken the Government at its word, and an official edict from the Vatican requires the school-teacher to inform the pupils every time they are called upon to attend the shrine-celebration, that the Government asserts that it is not a religious but a patriotic ceremony, and that it is therefore one in which they, as Roman Catholics, can take part without compromising their religious position. Protestants, on the other hand, have for the most part not felt free to take this line. Some have done so, but the majority have felt conscientious scruples.

Foreigners are under no compulsion to attend the shrine-ceremonies. They are not Japanese citizens and therefore have no part or lot in any act of gratitude to the ancestors or of loyalty to the divine Emperor. If a foreign teacher does not wish to attend he need not, provided a responsible Japanese member of the school staff takes his place. But schools cannot evade the ceremonies; and it must be admitted that most of them have apparently no wish to do so. It is probable that it is only the presence of foreign Christians with conscientious scruples that causes the Japanese Christians to hesitate. Left to themselves they would almost certainly accept the Government assurance and go to the shrines without any strain of conscience. Government officials are anxious to avoid a collision, and cannot understand the position of some of the missionaries. "What more can you want?" they say. "We assure you that the

shrine-ceremony is purely national and patriotic and not in any degree religious. It is just the Japanese equivalent of the Western practice of standing when the band plays the national anthem. Why, then, do you still hesitate?" The Japanese Christians, with their traditional devotion to the state, would probably not hesitate; and most missionaries agree that the view of the Japanese Christians must in the long run prevail. But the former's hesitation to attend the ceremonies and their uneasiness about the attendance of their pupils are eloquent witness that the Older Churches of the West have learnt by bitter experience to distrust too close association of Church and state. The simple fact is that the question of the relation of Church and state has now become one of the crucial issues in Japan. In such circumstances the part of the Older Church of the West is to help this Younger Church of the Far East to see all that is at stake and to adopt a position that it believes to be unqualifiedly Christian.

The Government never fails to assure the anxious Westerner that it does not intend to interfere with any of the religions of the country. They reiterate that their concern is with such matters as the maintenance of the national spirit and the achievement of the country's destiny, and not in any wise with religion as such. This assertion is in line with their distinction between State Shinto and Sect Shinto; it is also in accord with the experience of some of the most reliable obser-

vers. Missionaries can be found who will bear witness that, through long periods of service, they have preached the Gospel both by voice and by pen without let or hindrance, and that on occasions when there has been disturbance or opposition they have even received official protection. It seems beyond question that the Japanese Government has not interfered with religious activity. In the Government's own phrase, religion as such is outside its sphere.

It is pertinent to inquire, however, what "outside its sphere" means, and in particular to ask whether it means that religion is of less importance than the ordinary concerns of Government. Whatever the official answer to that question may be, the official attitude undoubtedly is that religion is a matter of less consequence than the affairs of state. So long as religion keeps to its own subordinate sphere it can count upon Government goodwill and even protection, but if once it crosses the path of the national purpose it must expect no mercy. It is here that the traditional Japanese devotion to the state reveals its true nature. If for one moment religion acknowledges some other allegiance which transcends, or runs counter to allegiance to the state, it will be suppressed with utter ruthlessness. The state is the real and ultimate deity of Japan.

It should be clearly understood that the Government does not want to be in the position of having to persecute religion. On the contrary, it is

taking steps as far as possible to avoid it. But it must also be understood that in its view the interests of the state must be paramount. It hopes that religion will keep to its own sphere and not be a nuisance; that it will be a public asset, and will fit into its place in the national life. It agrees that it has a place, even an important place, but a subordinate one none the less. The Government will accordingly be glad to recognize the Japanese Church on condition that it will be a pillar of the public life. This is precisely what is accomplished by the Religious Organizations Control Act, which came into operation in April 1940.

The Act aims at defining the scope and function of the various religious bodies in Japan and at giving them certain privileges and status. Every religious body is required to submit an outline of its credal position and a statement of its mode of worship, its form of Church government, its range of activities, and the powers and prerogatives of its pastors and officials. If these satisfy the authorities the body in question is promised official recognition as an approved religious organization, and is assured of such advantages as the protection of the law and the right to hold property.

The placing of this Act upon the statute book reveals the determination of the Government to know about everything that is going on in the country, including even the minutiae of religious beliefs and practices. Hence the requirement that

every sect or denomination in the land, whether Buddhist or Christian or what not, shall put down in black and white a statement of its tenets, its ways of worship, and its internal organization. If these do not meet with official approval, recognition is refused. The Government hopes in this way to eliminate certain religious organizations which they regard as freakish and undesirable, and to prevent the spread of others. They frankly admit that they do not want too many sects and queer faiths. They like Roman Catholicism because it is regimented and can be dealt with as a unit. They would be glad if the Protestants were similarly organized.

One of the most important consequences of the Act in the eyes of the Japanese Christians is the fact that Christianity is now recognized as one of the three religions of Japan, along with Shinto and Buddhism. It has given great satisfaction that the stamp of approval has been given by the highest legislative body in the land. Christianity can no longer be regarded as an alien faith. Hitherto it has been an interloper in the religious world of Japan, living on sufferance, without legal status or recognition. Now it stands on a footing of equality with the two other great religions of the country.

It is certainly a tribute to the influence of Christianity that a religion which numbers only one person in two hundred of the population should be given the status of one of the three officially recog-

nized religions; and the Japanese Christians are entitled to a due measure of satisfaction. Many Western Christians, however, regard the matter with apprehension. They note the state's quiet assumption that it is competent both to pronounce upon religious beliefs and practices and to give or withhold approval, and they see in this another illustration of the totalitarian threat. Nor have they had long to wait for proof of their fears.

Within a few months of the passing of the new law, the Government, acting through the Religious Bureau of the Department of Education, called a meeting of representatives of the three religions and asked each to prepare a report on its plans for co-operating in the National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign, the name given to the Government's attempt to maintain the morale of the people. The official communication of the Campaign requires early morning obeisance towards the Imperial Palace and silent prayer for the country from every household in the land. Morning service with similar obeisance has to be carried out in all schools, banks, factories, and stores, while at noon there is a moment of silent prayer in memory of the dead. Workers are called upon to put forth their utmost energies for the state, and students are to increase their voluntary service at public works. Limitation in the use of liquor and tobacco is called for, and stress is laid upon economy and savings. It is clear that the three religions also are expected to take their share

in the war effort as a part of the price of recognition. It seems to be overlooked that Christianity is not a national but an ecumenical faith.

But that was not all. Worse was to come. If the Government assumed that it had the right to require the Japanese Church to share in its war effort, the Japanese Church not only allowed the assumption to pass unchallenged, but responded in a way that tacitly admitted the claim.

After an introduction asserting that the Christian Churches have from the first co-operated in the National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign, the report which they submitted went on to outline their general programme as follows:

- i. To stress the harmony between Christianity and the national objectives.
- ii. To make plain the official purposes for the establishment of a New Order in East Asia, and to co-operate in their realization.
- iii. To give deep religious quality to the observation of the monthly Far Eastern Service Day, with special prayers for the imperial family and the country.
- iv. To redouble efforts to realize the Government's economic policies of economy and savings and the advancement of public health.
- v. To continue and increase service to widows and orphans of soldiers and respectful participation in memorial services.
- vi. To continue and increase service to men at

- the front through the rest houses in China.
- vii. To continue and increase support of the women's settlement in Peking founded by our Christian women.
 - viii. To co-operate with all the Christian work of all countries in the occupied areas, seeking to develop understanding of the new order.
 - ix. To seek the co-operation of English and American missionaries in Japan, and the Churches they represent, for the rectification of international misunderstandings of Japan, and particularly to seek to deepen the understanding of the missionaries in China.

The next step was taken on October 17th, 1940, a date that is likely to be regarded as a fateful day for the Japanese people in general and for the Japanese Christians in particular. It was the 2,600th anniversary of the birth of the Empire, and in every part of the country there were celebrations at which the central theme was the greatness of Japan and her "mission" in Eastern Asia. It was also the day on which the "Genuine Christian Church of Japan" came into being.

During one week in August 1940, three important decisions were taken which may perhaps result in the subordination of the Church to the state and its isolation from the rest of the Christian world. It is probable that official pressure was exerted, though there is little conclusive evi-

dence on this point. What is certain is that there were, and are, within the Church, men holding extreme nationalist views who are bent on bringing the Church into line with the national purpose. It is equally certain that there are others who have little sympathy with this attempt to subordinate the Church to the state. The probability is that such pressure was brought to bear, both from without and from within, that these latter were overborne.

On August 26th it was reported that in the Episcopal Church of Japan the six foreign bishops had been required to resign, and all the foreign priests had been removed from executive positions. It was further announced that a Bill was being drafted which would require all Christian denominations to fit into the national structure. On August 27th it was reported that representatives of all the Protestant communions had met in Tokyo and had gone a step further. They had discussed the amalgamation of the various denominations, the elimination of missionaries, and the dropping of all financial assistance from abroad, and had agreed to form a new Church to be known as the Genuine Christian Church of Japan, and to have it formally constituted on October 17th as part of the national celebration. It was stated that this implied no hostility to foreign missionaries, but was the expression of the nationalist desire to have a purely Japanese Church. On August 29th it was announced that the Salvation

Army had been reorganized in accordance with prevailing national sentiment. Its name was to be the Salvation Party (or Body); all its military titles were to be abolished; its relations with the British headquarters and with Salvationists abroad were to be severed, and all its foreign officers to be dismissed. The new organization, it was stated, was "based on principles compatible with the Japanese spirit".

It seems beyond doubt that these decisions were taken under the pressure of political considerations. Else why was it necessary to eliminate all foreign personnel? Why was the Christian Church suddenly required to base itself "on principles compatible with the Japanese spirit"? Why was it laid down that "all denominations in Japan must fit into the framework of the new national structure"? It sounds very like a demand that the Christian Church must adjust itself to "the New Order in Eastern Asia"!

Not content with making its claims absolute in the national sphere, the Government are now pressing them within the sphere of the Christian Church. They are, in fact, demanding not merely the things that are Cæsar's, but some at least of the things that are God's. In these recent developments the true nature of the totalitarian threat stands revealed.

It might be supposed that the domestic organization of the Christian Church was so remote from "the things that are Cæsar's" that it was

safe from interference. Experience has proved the contrary. The Church in Manchuria, which grew up as part of the Church of Christ in China and shared in all its life, was compelled by the political authority to cut itself off from all association with it after the Manchurian incident. The apparent reason for this requirement was that it did not fit in with the imperial policy of Japan to have in Manchuria a Church that looked to China for its fellowship and strength.

An even clearer case of Japanese interference in the domestic organization of the Church is seen in the fact that as recently as 1938 the National Christian Council of Korea was dissolved by order of the Japanese Military Governor and its association with the International Missionary Council severed, while the delegates who had already been chosen to represent it at the world conference at Madras were refused permission to sail. The imperial policy could not apparently tolerate in Korea a religious organization which possessed international contacts, and the authorities insisted that Korea was sufficiently represented by the delegation from Japan. It is clear that Japan has already realized that the claim of the Christian Church to have a loyalty which is both higher and wider than that of the state cannot easily be squared with the claim of totalitarianism.

The next sphere in which the claim of Cæsar has been felt is that of the Church's missionary witness and evangelistic activity.

After the World War Japan received the mandate for the South Sea Islands, and the Japanese Church immediately started a South Seas Missionary Association. After the Manchurian affair a vast new area came under Japanese control, and again the Japanese Church made a missionary advance and founded the Manchukuoan Missionary Association; while in the present Far Eastern struggle, Japan had no sooner seized the northern provinces of China than the Japanese Church launched an East Asia Missionary Association.

It would be as easy as it would be unfair to wax sarcastic about jingoism in the Japanese Church. But it is none the less impossible for any friend of the Christian enterprise in Japan to avoid anxiety. While it is stirring to see this ardour for missionary service, it is obvious that the Japanese Church has put itself in the position of "following the flag". Always a questionable thing for any branch of the Christian Church to do, it is doubly so in the case of a people that has a semi-mystical view of its country's destiny and a natural inclination to exalt the state above the Church. Nor can it be forgotten that in the spring of 1938 a number of leading Japanese Christians, with the full knowledge and approval of their Government, crossed to China where they took counsel with some of the leaders of the Chinese Church. The proposal they brought with them can be put into a brief and brutal sentence. "Why", the Japanese

envoys asked, "should not we Christians of the Far East undertake responsibility for the evangelism of the Far East? What do we want these Westerners here for?" Some, at least, of the Chinese suspected that the real purpose of the visit was political rather than evangelistic, and that the proposal was the religious counterpart of the Japanese New Order in Eastern Asia. All of them, without exception, put the proposal aside. They were not prepared either to cut their religious connection with the West or to deny the world unity of the Christian family for the sake of Far Eastern unity. Rebuffed in that particular instance, the Japanese Christians have not given up the attempt to carry on missionary work in China. Certain of their own members are serving as missionaries in various cities of North and Central China, in spite of the fact that the Chinese regard them as Government agents. There has been a steady elimination of foreigners from positions of leadership within the Church. The latest example is the exclusion of British missionaries from the province of Shansi and the Japanese Government's invitation to Japanese Christians of the same denomination to take over the work, thus securing political control under the guise of preserving denominational continuity. The Government evidently regards the missionary enterprise as a method of political penetration, and does not hesitate to use it as an instrument of national policy.

It is no reproach to the Japanese Church that its sense of missionary vocation has awakened at the same time as the nation's consciousness of empire, or even in consequence of it. On the contrary, it may be the one reassurance in regard to the future. It is possible that what is happening within Japanese Christianity is similar to what happened in British Christianity when our own country became conscious of the obligations of empire. In founding missionary societies the Christian Churches of Britain were inspired by something more than "spiritual imperialism". They spoke not of the British Empire but of the Kingdom of Christ. They were aglow with a spiritual discovery and were moved by a strong sense of Christian responsibility. It was this conviction of evangelistic purpose within the Christian Church, expressing itself in the formation of missionary societies, that saved British imperialism from degenerating into jingoism. It may be that the Christian Church has to play a similar part in Japanese history. If so, it must once and for all resist the attempt that is being made to reduce it from its position as the supernatural and supranational Body of Christ to the subordinate role of an arm of the state. The final result will depend upon the vision of its own members and the reality of its partnership in the world-wide Church of Christ.

Nor is there any reproach in the fact that Westerners are being steadily replaced by Japan-

ese in the positions of leadership and responsibility in the Church. That is as it should be if the Church is to become truly indigenous. The danger is lest it be done for the wrong reasons and the price paid be too heavy; lest, in fact, it should be an exchange of Western ecclesiastical leadership for Japanese state control. It must not be forgotten that the Church is not a national but a world organization, and that in becoming indigenous it does not cease to be ecumenical.

It is precisely at this point that the clash may come. The Christian Church, by its very nature, is supernatural and universal. The Japanese state, on the other hand, is nationalist and totalitarian, determined to control everything and everyone. It does not seek a struggle with the Church, but it senses that the Christian Society, with its wider contacts and higher allegiance, is its deadliest foe, and it regards as inconvenient any member of that, or any other, Society who shows any inclination to question the totalitarian claim. This attitude of watchful suspicion is much more active in the Japanese colonies and possessions than in Japan proper, where the Government can count upon the social discipline and tradition of the people. Shrine-worship is being pressed far more vigorously in Korea, Formosa and the mandated South Sea Islands than in Japan itself. Indeed it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate its promulgation from Japan's imperial policy. The case of Korea, where the

issue is crucial, will serve as an example. The Christians of that country, since they are not Japanese, cannot have the patriotic regard for the Emperor, much less for the tutelary heroes of Japan, that the Japanese themselves have. The demand that they shall take part in the shrine-worship is, therefore, in their eyes, merely a demand that they shall go back to idolatry. The state demands it; their consciences forbid it. They have accordingly tried to devise a form of ceremony in which they can conscientiously join, whereby they offer a salute of respect at the shrine but without implicating themselves in any religious recognition of the spirits. Such attempts have, however, always been officially proscribed. In Manchuria, where Shinto shrines do not exist, the Japanese are in some places building them, and in other places requiring that the ceremony shall take place at the Confucian shrine. This latter is almost a *reductio ad absurdum*, as a ceremony at such a shrine cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be connected with the imperial family or tutelary deities of Japan.

A third sphere in which the claims of Cæsar have been quite improperly felt is in the worship of the Church. In view of the religious claims made on behalf of the Emperor it is not surprising that a watchful eye has been kept on the forms of worship followed by the Christian Church. In several Japanese churches it was the practice to offer prayer on behalf of the Emperor; but that

practice is said to have been stopped, presumably because a divine person such as the Emperor of Japan does not need human prayers. It is almost more disturbing that an alteration has been made in one of the collects used in the service of Holy Communion. The phrase "King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and only Ruler of Princes" was regarded by certain Japanese Christians as unsuitable and unacceptable. How, they asked, can such phrases be reconciled with the divine position accorded to the Emperor? After long and anxious debate it was resolved to substitute the words "Lord of Heaven and Earth" on the ground that this phrase does not imply that the Emperor is subordinate to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Christian from the West may be forgiven if he is apprehensive at what seems to him the readiness of the Japanese Church to accommodate itself to the claims of the state. It seems at times to be bending over backwards in its anxiety not to give offence. The Japanese Christians affirm that they have no fear of any betrayal of the Christian position or any improper subordination of the Church. But the overseas Christian, with his remembrance of the Church's bitter struggle in the West, cannot avoid a measure of apprehension. Most of the leading Japanese Christians are aware of the danger inherent in the claims of the state, but urge that the constructive policy for such a day is to avoid direct collision with the state

and to try to put a Christian content into the accepted notions of God and His worship. But it is doubtful whether, even so, conflict can be avoided.

The Christian Church in Japan is not a large body; not more than one person in two hundred is a Christian. But it is influential out of all proportion to its numbers. In part this is due to the fact that its members are drawn mainly from the educated section of the community. It has the strength as well as the weakness of a middle-class Church. Attempts are being made to remedy this by presenting Christianity persistently to the masses of the people through nation-wide evangelistic campaigns, newspaper evangelism, and the organization of Christian co-operatives. The Japanese Church is not lacking in resourcefulness. The fact that Christianity finds its main support amongst educated folk may perhaps prove its salvation in regard to the threat of totalitarianism. For an educated Church is at least likely to understand the peril of its position.

Japan offers as clear an example as there is in the contemporary world of the inevitable conflict between the claims of the totalitarian state on the one hand and of the Christian Church on the other. Nowhere has the apotheosis of the state gone further. All that can rightly be called Cæsar's has been claimed by the state, and something that is properly called God's. Here is the issue. How far can the Christian Church tolerate the inter-

ference of the state in its domestic organization, its evangelistic activity and even in its worship? What is the point at which it has to refuse the behest of the state, in view of the fact that it has a wider and higher allegiance? Has it the courage to make that refusal and take the consequences? If it makes the refusal it may be driven from the public scene; if it fails to make it it may sink into the position of a mere tool of the state. Either way danger lies.

CHAPTER II

IN CHINA: THE SCORCHED EARTH

SINCE the Great War the Christian community in China has been under fire both from within and from without. The attack from within took the form of an anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement; the attack from without consisted of the Japanese invasion and its effects upon the Chinese Christian community.

From the days of Julius Cæsar until quite recent times, China dwelt behind her Great Wall secure from barbarian attacks, preserving and developing her own distinctive culture, and closing her mind as well as her ports to everything from the West. For two millenniums her social life was stable and her national temperament unchanged. The qualities that were held in highest esteem in the days of Nebuchadnezzar were still the acknowledged virtues of the Chinese people.

At length she was constrained to open her ports to Western goods, her life to Western political ideas, and her mind to Western modes of thought. But once the barriers were opened she moved quickly. She passed in one stride from the age of Canute to that of Lenin and Marconi.

The most far-reaching phase of this change was

the intellectual renaissance. It was this that lay behind and explained every other aspect of her awakening. It began on that fateful day in 1905 when, by a stroke of her vermilion pencil, the Dowager-Empress changed the whole system of Chinese education and made Western learning an integral part of the Chinese system. This meant more than merely adding Science and History and English to the curriculum; it involved a wider intellectual horizon and a new attitude to life.

The Chinese renaissance really began in the spring of 1919, shortly after the close of the Great War. The mind of China was deeply stirred. More than two hundred new publications suddenly appeared: weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals, all of them tingling with new life and zealously preaching a new gospel. That message was summed up by one of them in the following words: "It is the purpose of the Renaissance Movement, through various means, to inculcate in our people a scientific attitude of mind which will be keen in its pursuit of truth. In this quest we recognize no boundaries of nationality or race. If our search leads us to Western peoples, we shall go to them with a willing spirit to learn what they have to teach us."

So far as religion was concerned the Chinese renaissance was in theory without bias. It was a revolt against the fetters of the mind, and claimed the whole gamut of life as the field of its inquiry. It insisted on investigating everything and de-

manded the right to lay bare the secrets of Western life, including Western religion. It was just here that the bias began to be felt. Christianity was so closely identified with the West that a strictly impartial inquiry was found to be well-nigh impossible, and a definite bias against Christianity began to show itself. The anti-Christian movement was, in fact, the child of the renaissance.

The movement took shape in the early part of 1922 when Mr. Bertrand Russell, at the invitation of the Young China Association and of the Students' Philosophical Club, visited the chief student centres of China to interpret the West to the East. His reputation as a leader of revolutionary thought secured for his lectures an attention out of all proportion to their intrinsic value. Professor T'u Hsiao-shih of Peking summed up Mr. Russell's messages in two paragraphs:

“(a) Religion is an instrument that kills man. The wars in European history have all some relationship to religion. Even the Great War that has just been concluded, so cruel in its processes and results, had its roots in certain religious beliefs, which served as weapons of killing.

“(b) Religion, in its belief in the supernatural, is a hindrance to the progress of science.”

This evangel acted like a ferment in the mind of Young China, particularly of the students. They began to proclaim that religion was an obstacle to national development, and urged that science, wedded to æsthetics, should be adopted in its

place. Mr. Russell's nihilist philosophy so stimulated the hostility of the students that they tried to prevent the meetings of the World's Student Christian Federation which were being held in China that year. Proclamations were issued against religion, and anti-religious clubs were formed to rescue the students from the fetters of religious belief. The movement became, so far as students were concerned, practically nationwide.

The nature of the attack upon the Christian community may be gathered from the leaflets that were broadcast among the reading section of the population at the time. One of them affirmed:

"The Movement attacking Christianity is the most important Movement under the canopy of the sky. We all know clearly that Christianity is a religion of superstition and vagueness, which makes people more ignorant than they are. More than that, it is our duty to fight against this religion of imperial civilization.

"Since the invasion of Christianity in China, thousands of men-of-war and guns have followed on the heels of the missionaries who come to us clad in black gowns and carrying banners of evangelistic volunteers. Many ports have been yielded; concessions have been granted, and millions of dollars of indemnity have been paid.

"What the missionaries have preached is nothing but absolute and deceptive doctrine, and what they have promoted is nothing but a benumbed

and degenerate thought on the part of our people. They will never cease such action until their passion is satisfied. So we must stand against Christianity because of its relation to imperialism."

Another leaflet said that opposition is offered to religion—

"Because we look for intellectual progress, but religion is conservative and traditional.

"Because religion emphasizes divisions and class distinctions.

"Because we advocate science, not religious superstition.

"Because we seek a full realization of self, but religion teaches dependence.

"Because the doctrine of redemption encourages further wrong-doing.

6 "Because Christianity is a forerunner of imperialistic exploitation, which is proved by its demands for indemnity and extra-territorial rights.

7 "Because it intermeddles in legal procedure.

8 "Because it suppresses patriotism and even reproaches China as a nation."

Another phase of the attack is to be seen in the field of education. The Chinese educational associations published statements to the effect that mission schools were a subtle attempt on the part of the West to impose its *Kultur* upon the East, and to break down the Chinese national spirit by indoctrinating the children with Western ideas. They affirmed that mission teaching was not only educational and religious activity, it was also

primarily political propaganda. It was incredible, they affirmed, that large sums of money from Britain and America should be poured into China for the purpose of education except with a view to foreign exploitation. This sinister interpretation gained currency and evoked opposition from two different groups of Chinese educationists, one protesting against an educational system controlled by Westerners, and the other offering opposition to all religious teaching and demanding an entirely secular curriculum in the schools. The former group had behind it all the fervour of the new-found nationalism; the latter was the expression of the anti-religious propaganda which was largely of Russian origin. Important resolutions were passed by these educational groups and pressed upon the attention of the Chinese Board of Education. They asked that all schools should be either registered or closed; that foreigners should not use their schools to propagate religion; that "for the benefit of Society and the improvement of education, schools should be required to abolish all religious teaching, and that no preaching or worship of any kind should be permitted".

There can be no doubt that some considerable part of this anti-religious propaganda was due to Soviet influence. During the 1925 riots in Shanghai, banners were carried in the streets by the demonstrating students bearing the words, "Down with the Christians", and "Down with the Christian Religion". The fact that China had

recognized the Soviet Government, and that Russia had given up her extra-territorial rights, had made the penetration of China by Bolshevist propaganda a comparatively easy matter. The students had given an eager welcome to the gospel of Communism and many of them had obtained scholarships for courses of study in Moscow. These came back sworn opponents of Christianity on the ground that it was a capitalist device for doping the people. They openly affirmed that the missionary enterprise was so much camouflage, that missionary societies were the foreign governments under another name, that missionaries were "the running dogs of imperialism", whose task was to prepare the way for the exploitation of China by the Western powers. In support of this contention they pointed to the fact that missionaries were singled out in the Treaties to receive special privileges, and to the fact that Germany made the murder of two missionaries the pretext for the seizure of Kiao-chou. Mr. C. T. Wang, a former Chinese Ambassador to Washington, wrote at the time, "The present attack on Christianity is largely an attack on what is known as foreign imperialism. The Chinese people are rising against Christianity because in their minds Christianity appears to be a tool of foreign aggression and exploitation."

In so far as the movement was influenced by Bolshevism, it was anti-religious; in so far as it was affected by the new national spirit, it was anti-

foreign. The point at which the anti-religious and anti-foreign propaganda converged was that occupied by Christianity. The Christian community thus received the full brunt of this double attack.

Probably at no time in its history has the Christian cause in China been in such danger as it was in the period from 1925 to 1928. Many of the Chinese Christians had a certain amount of sympathy with the critics. Some were ardent nationalists and keenly sensitive to the charge of denationalization which was brought against the Christian movement. Others had a good deal of sympathy with the ideals of Communism, and winced at the assertion that they were agents of imperialistic capitalism. In both cases they were aware of the measure of truth and the much greater measure of misrepresentation in the accusations. In both cases they felt themselves unable to make any effective reply. Shouted at in the streets, derided in the class-rooms, misrepresented everywhere, they were treated as an ostracized people. Some openly went over to the opposition, others grew lukewarm and fell away. Yet others were cowed and recanted. Meanwhile the hostility increased. Many of the missionaries were driven out, and some suffered violence. Churches, schools and hospitals were robbed and burnt. Chinese Christians were hounded down and beaten; many were done to death. The Christian community was losing ground, and might well

have been stamped out, had it not been saved, humanly speaking, by one man.

Returning in 1928 from the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem, Dr. Cheng Ching Yi, an acknowledged leader of the Christian forces in China, carried on his heart not only the burden of the flagging Christian cause in his own land, but also the vision and purpose of the Jerusalem Conference. He knew the frailty and the dispirited mood of the Church in China; he knew also the strength of the forces ranged against it. He was well aware that by all human standards it was only a matter of time before it would be overwhelmed by the rising tide of opposition. So far from being dismayed by these considerations, he saw in them a call to a more positive policy, and accordingly launched a Five Years' Movement, the twofold aim of which was a more courageous following of Christ and an attempt to double the number of Christians within the five year period. "More and better Christians" was the motto, while the prayer of the movement was "Revive Thy Church, O Lord, beginning with me".

From the first the Five Years' Movement was more than an evangelistic campaign in the narrow sense of the term. It was concerned with the homes of the people, with the reconstruction of village life, and with the Christianizing of economic relations, as well as with the winning of men and women to the Christian way.

The movement broke the prevailing mood of despondency that hung over the Christian Church, and gave a ringing call to an active, aggressive programme of work in the name of God. It was the reaction of the Christian community to attack, and when the storm had passed it was found that the Church was stronger in numbers, more confident in spirit, and more firmly rooted in the soil of China than ever before. From that moment Christianity has been steadily moving into a more central place in the life of the community, until to-day it is the acknowledged faith of the majority of those who stand around the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, and bear the main responsibility for the government of the country.

One of the fruits of the Five Years' Movement is the New Life Movement which was launched by General Chiang Kai-Shek in 1934. It was originally intended as a local measure to help in the reconstruction of Kiangsi province after the expulsion of the Communists; but it quickly spread to other provinces. Its inspiration came partly from Christian and partly from Confucian sources, and its aim is both a return to older national virtues and an advance to new Christian standards. It is an attempt to change the social customs and habits of the people and enable them to adapt themselves to new conditions. People are urged to adopt a more simple way of life, to spend less on feasts and funerals, to give up smoking and gambling, to drop spitting and other unhygienic

customs, to avoid corruption and squeeze, and to be honest in both public and private affairs. The fact that the movement has evoked opposition because of its attack on bribery, gambling and the trade in narcotics is a proof of its effectiveness.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, in a message broadcast to the United States on February 21st, 1937, said, "The New Life Movement is deeply concerned with the character that goes to make a nation", and in a notable address to the National Christian Council in May of the same year, she made it clear that for her the New Life Movement was something more than a set of outward rules of conduct. While affirming that Christian people ought not to stand apart from the development of modern China and from co-operation with the Government, she gave it as her belief that "the most important factor in reconstruction is the spiritual renewal of the people", and went on to affirm her belief in the new birth, which she defined as "a radical and permanent change" in the individual. This is the inward side of the New Life Movement, and this is pre-eminently the concern of the Christian Church.

This is a far cry from the days, only a dozen years ago, when Christianity was openly attacked and the Christians were a broken and a hunted people.

The second phase of the Church's reaction to attack began with the Japanese invasion of China in July 1937. Completely unprepared to oppose

a mechanized army in the open field, China had perforce to withdraw her defensive forces, destroying as she went. This "Scorched Earth Policy" as it was called, involved the blowing up of roads, bridges and railways, the destruction of crops, factories and strategic centres, the demolition, in fact, of everything that might be of help to the enemy. The time thus gained enabled the Chinese to accomplish two important tasks: the organization of effective resistance in the great river valleys, by means of which they immobilized the Japanese armies for months together, and the removal of the centres of national life to places beyond the invader's reach.

One third of her territory, most of her great industrial centres, every large port, the whole of her seaboard, and nearly all her railways, waterways and roads were quickly captured by Japan. By all the logic of warfare, China ought to have given in long ago. She has not done so because she has been born again in the west. When the Japanese marched into the fertile, populous provinces of the plain, the Chinese migrated westwards to the mountainous and semi-medieval provinces bordering on Burma and Tibet. The trekkers included, along with a few cravens, many of the most virile and progressive elements in the population, while those who remained in occupied territory were for the most part too poor to move. The headquarters of the Government and Army have been transferred, and scores of factories and hundreds of

schools and colleges have migrated. China is renewing her youth in the west.

The city of Chungking will serve as well as any place to illustrate the effect of this renewal. For ages it has hardly been more than a large market town. To-day it is the political capital of war-time China and a rapidly growing industrial centre. Already its population has risen from a quarter to half a million. Building goes on in spite of constant air-raids. Ramshackle wooden houses are giving place to buildings of steel and concrete. Thousands of tons of factory equipment—spinning-frames, looms, machinery and building materials—have been moved. And along with the equipment mechanics have been brought to assemble the machines, and girl-spinners to work them. The countryside has been scoured for raw materials and much has been discovered. Some of China's best experimental laboratories have been transferred from the east to the west, and important research work is going forward. Handicrafts and home industries are being encouraged and a host of village co-operatives have been brought into being.

The resourcefulness that is being displayed is seen in the request of the Generalissimo that the Industrial Chemistry Department of the West China Christian University should try to produce an army blanket of native material. After much experimentation with native wool and dyes a good warm blanket was produced. The General-

issimo was delighted. "Good," he said, "now let's have a million!" Nothing daunted, the University set to work, organized small co-operative factories with the help of Government funds and expert advice, and in the course of a few months completed the order. Incidentally the venture brought into being a small chain of co-operative factories, which will carry on and develop this new industry. It may well be that China will emerge from the struggle a more formidable industrial rival than Japan has ever known.

The migration of educational institutions is at least as remarkable. On the eve of the war, Chiang Kai-Shek told a large gathering of educationists that nothing, not even war, must be allowed to interfere with their work. Their greatest service to their country, he said, would be to keep China's intellectual life alive, particularly with a view to the task of reconstruction after the war. Accordingly when the Japanese poured into the eastern provinces, it was decided to remove both schools and colleges lest they should become centres of Japanese influence and propaganda.

Immediately there began the greatest intellectual trek in history. Teachers and taught took to the mountains. Colleges and universities were moved as far as from London to Vienna. Some went north-west towards the Russian border; others moved to the south, only to be forced, when Canton fell, to move again; most trekked to the far west, until the provinces that border on Tibet

became a kind of intellectual Mecca. The universities put their libraries, their laboratory apparatus and their other equipment on junks and lorries and pony-back, while the students and staff made shift as best they could. Some of the colleges were bombed and bombed again. One, which was forced to move three times, trekked a total distance of over 2,000 miles, until it finally found a home in three Buddhist temples in a sleepy town near the Burma border.

The life of the New West is being permanently altered. This great, inner China, backward and inaccessible, is becoming the intellectual centre of Chinese life. For years national leaders have besought students to go to these remote areas and take the new culture with them. But only a few responded. Most preferred the lucrative posts, the comforts and the society of the large cities and the coastal provinces. To-day war is doing what persuasion could not accomplish.

Already a new importance has been given to the west. The "back-doors" through Indo-China, the U.S.S.R. and Burma are rapidly becoming front-doors, and the people themselves, both "natives" and immigrants, are being transformed. The upland folk are learning to be proud of their professors from Peking, and are taking advantage of the opportunities that are opening before them. The immigrants, on their side, are learning the necessity of making education more practical, and are laying stress on such things as civil engineer-

ing and agricultural science. The newcomers are changing Old China and in turn being changed by it.

In 1938 an American writer raised the question of a "Scorched Earth Policy for Missions". He asked whether the Christian Church should not follow the Government programme and move its main centres of work to the west. The alternative, he said, was that missions should carry on their "business as usual"; that missionaries should remain at their posts, run their hospitals, carry on their schools and generally maintain their work and witness as normally as circumstances permit.

Both these policies, as a matter of fact, are being followed. Some missionaries have moved with the migrating multitudes and opened new centres in the west; others have refused to move, even when their buildings were shattered and the bases of their work destroyed.

For a time there was a disposition on the part of those in "free" China to reproach those who remained in "occupied" territory, on the ground that they were playing into the hands of the enemy, and that everything that helped to continue the normal way of life or "business as usual" in the occupied area was helping Japan.

The dispute raged with particular fierceness around the schools and colleges, one party declaring roundly that they could not understand how any red-blooded Chinese student could be content to continue his studies in the occupied zone.

They affirmed that in Japanese hands the schools would become centres of propaganda and cultural exploitation; that the Japanese language would have to be taught, prescribed text-books to be used, and a definite bias given to all the teaching. Accordingly they advocated the closing of all schools and colleges in the occupied areas, and the removal of the whole teaching and student body to places beyond the reach of the invader. The other party pointed out that the policy breaks down in practice, since it is sheerly impossible for the majority of the population, particularly the poorer people, to migrate; and that the Christian Church must stand by them, and maintain, as far as possible, both worship and education for the multitudes that must remain. They affirmed that schools that are under the personal direction of missionaries from overseas escape some of the more serious forms of interference and control. Mission schools are, in fact, the only ones that can function with any kind of freedom in occupied territory, and the only universities—two in number—still operating in the areas where the Japanese are in control, are missionary institutions. The realization of this problem explains the desire of the Chinese Government that mission schools and colleges should continue in the occupied areas. Without their presence and service, the people in those areas would be almost entirely bereft of educational opportunity.

It is generally agreed that hospitals should carry

on as usual, but there is difference of opinion in regard to evangelistic activity. The Christian Church must, of course, go where the people are. And in view of the fact that millions have migrated to the west the Church must move with them. A delegation of Christian leaders visited the southern and western provinces in 1939 and 1940 to survey the position, and in the light of their report it has been decided to strengthen the Christian forces in the New West, particularly those working amongst students. Not only has the population been greatly increased, but there is a new openness to the Christian message on the part of the local inhabitants and of the immigrants alike. The national emergency has forced the immigrants in particular to rethink the meaning of life. Some have lost their families; many have lost their homes; most have lost their livelihood. Bombed in the north and east, they trekked hundreds of miles to free territory, only to be bombed again. The war with its ruthlessness and destruction on the one hand, and the Christian community with its comradeship and care for refugees on the other, are giving to many a new readiness to listen to the Christian message and a new ability to understand its meaning when interpreted in service to human need.

The Christian Church is also standing to its posts in occupied territory. Few things are more impressive than the way in which Chinese pastors are continuing to shepherd their flocks in the de-

vastated areas. A brief extract from a report made to the East China Synod of the Church of Christ in China will serve to make this clear:

Lutien Church. Church building entirely destroyed. Church members scattered; four persons believed killed. Preacher has left Lutien. Private belongings of preacher all destroyed.

Vong Yien Church. Church building not damaged. Regular services have been held. Preacher remained all the time. Preacher has suffered slight loss of personal belongings.

Fong Kyung Church. Church building entirely destroyed. Church members in town scattered; those in country centres holding regular worship. The preacher is living in the country and keeping regular work going in these country districts. Private belongings of the preacher practically all lost.

Si Daung Church. Church building undamaged. Regular services held. Work carried on by the church members under the direction of the Fong Kyung preacher.

It is too soon to cast any sort of final balance of the gains and losses to the Christian community in China in consequence of the war; but something in the nature of a trial balance may be attempted.

The first item on the debit side is the heavy material loss due to the destruction of church property, the impoverishment of the Christian people along with other members of the com-

munity, and the dislocation of the work of the Christian churches in most of the occupied areas. Through the Chinese capacity for recuperation these losses may turn out to be less serious than they at first sight appear.

A second element of loss is to be found in the field of moral values, particularly in occupied China. It is not easy to maintain decent moral standards in an atmosphere of constant humiliation, of subterfuges necessary to preserve a measure of inward freedom, of insincerities forced upon helpless folk, such as the pressure upon students to simulate rejoicing in Japanese victories and applaud pro-Japanese sentiments, or the requirement that citizens shall buy Japanese puppet newspapers, (and put up pictures of the Emperor in their homes.) The effect of these things will probably be a lowering of the moral standards and a coarsening of the moral fibre. The increase in gambling and the use of opium in the occupied areas is regarded in many quarters as part of a deliberate campaign on the part of the invaders to undermine the moral resistance of the people.

The third item of loss is to be found in the fact that China, and particularly free China, is steadily perfecting herself in the art of war and becoming increasingly war-minded. The effect of this is being felt even within the Christian community. War propaganda is now a commonplace in the schools of free China. Schoolroom walls are hung with war-charts and pictures, and the school cup-

boards are full of model aeroplanes, warships and hand-grenades which the children have made in handwork classes. A subtle change is coming over the Chinese in their attitude to war, and the most peace-loving people in the world are in danger of becoming definitely military-minded.

But there is another side to the account. A new concern for national issues is abroad, and a willingness to sacrifice and even die in a cause greater than one's own interests. "The most important thing that is happening", wrote Madame Chiang Kai-Shek to a friend on May 14th, 1938, "is that our country is surely finding its soul."¹ This spirit is gaining expression in the patient maintenance of the national life under constant attack. Nowhere is this persistence more obvious than within the Christian community, which in this matter has given a lead to the whole country.

A second item of gain is that the Christian Church has come to be regarded as an institution of national importance. Its fatal weakness in the past has been its foreign origin, its dependence on foreign funds and its foreign atmosphere. It has now made for itself an essential place in the national life, particularly in three connections.

It is, first of all, being recognized that moral values are supreme, and that the Christian Church stands essentially for them. Hitherto Western

¹ *China in Peace and War*, by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, p. 237.

civilization has been regarded as being almost synonymous with material values, and has been thought of in terms of railways, newspapers, electric power and army corps. The present crisis has enabled the Chinese to see that the Christian Church is standing for moral values and giving its members a new moral power. The Church has come to be regarded as a national asset, strengthening the people in their hour of need.)

In the second place, the youth of China has seen the vision of service. The passionate concern for the underdog which has taken hold of them in the last two decades largely explains the attraction that Communism held for them. But a mood of disillusionment came to them when they realized the real aims of Soviet propaganda in China. It was just then that it dawned upon them that the Church stands for service. They saw this in the magnificent lead given by Chinese Christians and missionaries alike; in the work of dozens of mission hospitals that have carried on in spite of a pitiless rain of death and destruction around them; in the service that has been rendered to thousands of migrant refugees on their tragic trek from east to west; in the care of war-orphans, who have wandered the ravaged cities in pitiful bands, raking over refuse heaps for rags and scraps of food. It was the Christians who first gathered in these "warphans" and gave them a chance of life. The Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers in Transit was organized by the Church

of Christ in China. College professors, church leaders, students, delicately brought-up girls and fastidious boys have travelled on trains, unwarmed on bitter nights, where the dying and the dead lay side by side in ghastly freight with wounded men, have rendered first-aid, given them food and drink and otherwise ministered to their need. The word "service" now has a new connotation, and by standing for service of a man in need, be he fellow-clansman, stranger, friend or foe, the Church has won a new place of moral authority in the mind of youth. Refugee camps, rest stations on the road for exhausted and despairing wayfarers, student relief, educational institutions continuing with their work in spite of Japanese pressure and other forms of service, have won the attention and gratitude of the ordinary Chinese citizen, giving a new vision to China and a new prestige to the Church.

In the third place the Church has come to be recognized as taking the lead in many movements of social regeneration. Christian leaders have been called upon to organize such movements, as it is known that they will give honest and enthusiastic service. During the last two years the Chinese Government has again and again commissioned Christians to undertake large schemes of reform, and put considerable sums of money at their disposal in complete confidence that it would be honourably and economically administered.

A third gain is that the Church feels a new

strength, not in political prestige or treaty-rights, but in bearing her witness fearlessly and speaking to the deep needs of men. Twelve years ago the Christian community was in terror of its life. Beset behind and before by clever, ruthless enemies, and with deadly weakness in its own heart, it quailed before the storm. Through the Five Years' Movement it saved its soul and gained new confidence. The Church is to-day in good heart and endeavouring to meet the spiritual hunger everywhere apparent. Rarely have student audiences been more ready to welcome the Christian messenger, whether Chinese or foreign. Those who have engaged in Christian evangelism in recent months have found crowded audiences and intent listeners. Never was there such a demand for Christian literature. The Christian presses, working at full pressure, are not able to keep pace with the need. The Christian Church in China is no longer on the defensive; it is moving to its task with a confident spirit and a forward tread. Christianity is becoming indigenous, as the phrase goes; that is, it is getting its roots down into the life of the people. No clearer proof of this could be wanted than the quality of leadership that is being produced. By common agreement the ablest delegation at the Madras Conference in December 1938 was from China. In spiritual insight, in intellectual grasp and in sound judgment it was surpassed by none. Another, though less striking proof, is to be found

in the fact that China is beginning to produce its own Christian art. The pictures by a Chinese Christian artist that are to be seen in Peking make it clear that Christianity is being recognized as an Eastern as much as a Western faith. When a community can produce leaders of international repute and art of acknowledged merit, it may claim to have won its place in the national life and to have a future.

A somewhat baffling problem in this connection is the task of linking educated Christians to the organized Church. In relation to the total Christian community the proportion of educated Christians is fairly high. But many of them have little connection with the fellowship of the Church. They are sincere Christians and make no secret of the fact. From time to time they attend public worship, but they have only a tenuous association with the organized Church, and display little desire for closer affiliation.

The problem is rooted in the Church's material and spiritual poverty. Most of the organized congregations are made up of humble folk with an ill-educated minister. The educated man is often not attracted to the fellowship, though his help is precisely what the Church needs. There is a vicious circle. The educated and well-to-do are not drawn to the Church because it is made up of humble folk with little or no education; and the Church is ill-educated and poverty-stricken because it does not attract those who are educated

and in comfortable circumstances. It may be that the war will teach Chinese Christians what they have not learnt from any other teacher. Already they have learnt that the Church is a reality in stern and trying days; that it is as real as the life of the nation; that it has stood the strain of invasion and migration; that the strong have helped the weak, and the Western Christians have come to the aid of those of the East. They are learning that Christianity is more than a "movement"; that it has a body and is made up of living men and women who stand by one another in fair weather and in foul.

From a glance at these elements of loss and gain it is easy to see that the position of the Christian Church in China to-day is one of danger and of opportunity. There is an open door and an effectual, and there are many adversaries.

CHAPTER III

IN INDIA: SWARAJ AND CHRISTIANITY

THE main menace to Christianity in India to-day is the tendency to identify Hinduism with the national interest, and to represent Christianity as an alien faith, a tendency which is likely to become more definite and deliberate as India moves towards self-government. To be a good Indian, so a popular slogan runs, it is necessary to be a Hindu.

In India's present mood this is a powerful argument, and Hindu apologists are making the most of it. Hinduism, so their argument runs, is the popular and traditional religion of the country, whereas Christianity not only came from the West but is the religion of a negligible proportion of the population and has always been associated with the British raj. The aim is to represent the Christian movement in India as a subsidiary branch of a Western, and particularly a British enterprise, and thus to gain for Hinduism the powerful support of present-day national feeling.

Over against this argument are to be put two facts, first that Christianity is gaining ground in India at a greater pace than ever before, especially amongst the less privileged sections of the population, and second, that it is rapidly throw-

ing off its alien garb and proving its indigenous character. These two facts in their turn are stirring political Hinduism into increased activity, with the result that the stage is fairly set for a grim fight.

The first thing to be said about Hinduism to-day is that it still holds the heart of India. Even when allowance is made for the place of Islam and other faiths in the national life, and for the growth of Christianity, it yet remains true that Hinduism holds the allegiance of the vast majority of people in town and in country alike. In the village the life of the community is framed on a Hindu pattern. The concerns of village and family life are connected with religious observances or have religious significance. Even in the city, with its increasing Europeanization, Hinduism pervades the individual and the corporate life.

Madura in south India and Benares in the north are two of the main centres of this abiding influence of Hinduism. The former's chief title to fame is its Temple, which is almost unique amongst the larger temples of the country. Its mighty *gopurams*, or pyramidal towers, rise above the city and dominate the countryside like the towers of Lincoln Cathedral. There are no domes or soaring pinnacles, not even an arch or a single rounded line, save in the sculptures. The great supporting pillars are square; the lintel of every door is a straight granite slab; everything is rectangular from tower to tank. Architec-

turally it is Dravidian and represents a stage of culture that goes back to the days before the Aryan invasions. The dark-skinned southern peoples were in India long before the lighter-coloured conquerors from the north imposed their rule and their religion. In spite of scores of centuries of alien domination, the early aboriginal culture still persists. At Madura it is clear that the conqueror made terms with the conquered, for the two deities to whom the Temple is dedicated are represented as married, one being Dravidian, the other Aryan. So far as architecture is concerned, the Dravidian has conquered, and has risen to something impressive and almost noble. Almost, but not quite. For the Temple at Madura lacks that element of restraint which is a mark of all nobility. It is ornate, exuberant and tropically rank.

In the Temple itself there is a ceaseless coming and going of worshippers all through the day, but there is no corporate worship. Men and women worship when they will, but always as separate individuals. A man takes his stand before an image, puts his hands together before his face, and bows his head; perhaps he kneels down, touching his forehead on the stone flags; he may even lie flat on the ground, face downward. But all the while he is just a single individual engaged in his personal and private devotions. Or a woman takes a pinch of sacred ash from before one of the many images and puts a three-fingered

mark upon her forehead; then placing her hands together, she bows for a moment or two, and goes on her way, her *puja* done. Hour after hour this continues, almost without cessation. No one waits for others to gather, or for formal worship to begin. In a temple like Madura, worship never begins or ends. It is practically continuous, though wholly unorganized. Individuals come and go as they choose just in the same natural manner as they go to the market or the field.

If there is little sign in Madura of Hinduism losing its hold, there is less in Benares. For millions of people there is no more sacred city on earth. The multitudes of pilgrims that visit it every year make their way through its winding streets to the river front where they step down the *ghats* and walk quietly into the water of Mother Ganges, thus realizing the hope and prayer of years. Many, when they get waist deep, scoop up the water in their cupped hands, and sprinkle it over their heads and bodies; others throw a garland to the sacred river or dip up the water in their brass bowls and, raising it above their heads, pour it into their opened mouths.

Mingled with the pilgrims are *sadhus* in their saffron-coloured robes, or other holy men smeared from head to foot in white ashes. Some squat on the steps under great bamboo umbrellas, motionless as images. Others sit cross-legged like Buddhas on tiny wooden platforms built over the water. Some grip their nostrils and practise yoga,

others look blankly into space with unseeing eyes. Some mutter prayers, others read aloud from sacred books. Processions chanting "Ram, Ram, Sita, Ram" make their way to the burning pyres, or groups of mourners squat in silence round the funeral flames. Towering above them are temples and shrines, rising tier upon tier from the water's edge. Some of the shrines are hardly more than little recesses, a foot square, hewn into the face of the rock, and containing a tiny figure of the elephant-headed god or just a lingam daubed with red. Others are great temples of red sandstone, with gilded pinnacles glinting in the sun. In few places on the earth's surface are temples and shrines more closely packed. There is little sign on the river front at Benares of any weakening in the hold of Hinduism upon the mass of India's people.

The claim is even being made that in certain parts of India the influence of Hinduism is increasing. New temples, it is said, are being built and old ones repaired. Leading men in the national life are becoming more outspoken in their advocacy of the Hindu faith. A new enthusiasm for the "scheduled castes" is showing itself. Altogether it seems that Hinduism is making a bid for power by openly identifying itself with the national interest, by dubbing Christianity an alien faith, and by affirming that to be a good Indian one must be a good Hindu.

But the motives behind this renewal of zeal are

so mixed that it is impossible to say that it represents a genuine increase of religious vitality. It appears to be actuated as much by political as by religious motives. The new concern for the submerged castes is at least in part due to a desire to secure their support at the polls. The motive may, of course, be that Hinduism is aware that its authority is waning, and is determined to make an attempt to regain its power.

It is worth inquiring what the Outcastes themselves feel about Hinduism. For centuries these submerged masses have been politically and religiously inarticulate, and no one gave them so much as a thought. In recent years, however, they have gained in Dr. Ambedkar a leader and a mouthpiece. Though born of outcaste parents, he won his way to the best education that Britain and America could provide, and returned to India after being called to the Bar in the Middle Temple. Now that he is the Principal of the Law College in Bombay, and a member of the Bombay Parliament, with an assured position in the legal and political life of India, he is the natural spokesman of the depressed classes. His personal religious position is that he has renounced Hinduism and all its works, and is now closely studying other religions and Christianity in particular. His advice to his fellow-outcastes was given at a meeting of ten thousand people held at Nasik in October 1935. "Choose any religion", he declared, "which gives you equality of status and treatment. I had

the misfortune to be born with the stigma of untouchability, but it is not my fault. I will not die a Hindu, for that is in my power." The great gathering thereupon passed a resolution advising all the untouchables of India to forsake Hinduism. What religion the outcastes should embrace they did not attempt to decide. The fact that they contented themselves with urging them to break free from the religion which for centuries had bound them with fetters they could not break, is an indication that the motive was primarily humanitarian rather than religious. But whatever the motive may have been, the fact remains that a community numbering one-sixth of the population of India is turning its face away from Hinduism, and a considerable proportion is inclining towards Christianity.

The total Christian population of India, according to the 1931 census, was 6,296,763. The number of Christians in India to-day is reckoned to be nearing 8,000,000. Nearly every year during the past decade between 150,000 and 200,000 people have been received into the Christian Church by baptism. This remarkable growth in numbers, equivalent to a Pentecost every week, is due mainly to the ingathering of people from the depressed classes through what is known as the mass or community movement.

The process is not as dramatic as the term "mass movement" seems to imply. What generally happens is that a few humble people decide

for various reasons to become Christians, and after they have received instruction and been tested in various ways they are publicly baptized and received into the Christian Church. Their relatives in another village hear of the baptism and come to visit the new converts. Before long some of them ask for instruction and in due time they too are baptized. The process is again repeated, and the movement spreads from village to village. In the first instance it is confined to groups of relatives in various villages, but gradually the movement passes beyond the channels of relationship, and new families in each village are led to seek instruction and to join the Christian community. In time the balance of the village life is tipped in favour of Christianity, and all the force of local coherence, custom and opinion, which was once a barrier to Christianity, becomes an asset in its favour. It is this spread of the Christian religion, as it were by contagion, along the lines of family relationship, that mainly accounts for the remarkable growth of the Christian community during the past decade. It should be noted that this group action or mass movement is the natural one for many Indians, and that while many motives, some good, some bad, are at work within it, there is something at its heart that can properly be called a religious quest.

A few examples drawn from different parts of India may serve to show how widespread the community movement is. In the Dornakal Diocese

in Hyderabad State there were 86,000 Christians in 1920, in 1935 there were 143,411, and in 1939 153,076. In the Trichinopoly District of the Methodist Church there were 2,000 Christians in 1912, 6,000 in 1922, 19,000 in 1932, and 25,573 in 1939. In the Church Missionary Society area in the United Provinces there were 10,000 Christians in 1925, 21,000 in 1935, and 27,797 in 1939. While the movement among the Chuhra in the Punjab has grown from 40,000 in 1905 to 400,000 in 1935.

The story of the growth of Christianity in south Travancore may be regarded as almost typical. Beginning with the conversion of a single outcaste, its progress for some time was disappointingly slow; after ten years of devoted service there were only a handful of Christians. Then, about 1816, something like a mass movement began: Christianity commenced to spread from village to village along the lines of family relationship, and the 600 converts of that time have grown to the 131,248 Christians of to-day. A vigorous Church has arisen which largely supports and governs itself, is literate to a remarkable degree, has a well-educated ministry, has acquired a higher standard of culture than that of the non-Christians in similar walks of life, and exercises an influence on the community out of all proportion to its numbers.

One of the impressive facts about south Travancore is the vitality of the Christian Church which shows itself, in addition to other ways, in

the number of its worshippers and the generosity of their contributions. There are large congregations, not only in the main towns, but also the villages. Formerly the people were low-caste or outcaste; to-day they are almost the best educated section of the community. There are probably as many university graduates in a town church in Travancore as there are in a corresponding church in Britain. This is not because the people are well-to-do and easily able to give their sons and daughters a university education. On the contrary, there are few wealthy families amongst them. For the most part they are folk of modest means, who have slowly emerged from something very like serfdom. The story of Christianity in south Travancore, when it comes to be fully told, will be recognized as one of the remarkable ones of Christian history. In one of the most hostile and Brahmin-ridden parts of India a whole people has been lifted out of the gutter and has been led into a large place. Despised though they once were, they can hold their heads high to-day and can point to a record of achievement which any folk might envy.

Take, by way of example, Nagercoil, in the extreme south, near the place where the mass movement began. It has a great church seating over 2,000 people. At the time when it was being built there were only a few score Christians in the place, and the people of the town thought the builders crazy, and told them so. To-day it is

the mother-church of ten or a dozen daughter churches in the villages around, and at any of the united communion services the great building is packed with people, men on one side, dressed in white, women on the other in all the colours of the rainbow. Indian ministers officiate, barefooted and in white robes. The communicants sit cross-legged on the stone floor, and as they receive the elements pray with their hands together as in a salaam. Rarely less than 2,000 make their communion on these occasions, and on special days they will number well over 3,000, many of whom have to be accommodated under awnings outside the building.

Or take, by way of contrast, an example from village life, quoted from Dr. Pickett. He writes:

“In a number of villages in the Nagercoil area, the third in a succession of churches has been erected, or is being planned. The early churches have been outgrown both in a physical and in an æsthetic sense. In one of those villages we worshipped with a Sunday morning congregation of more than four hundred in a commodious, chaste, and worshipful structure, built by the gifts of members of the church without missionary help from abroad. For nineteen years that congregation had contributed for the new church, which took the place of a smaller and cruder building erected forty to fifty years before with the aid of the mission. When the Christian movement began in that neighbourhood one hundred and

twenty-five years ago, the humble Nadars and Sambavars had neither the capacity to appreciate, the religious understanding to use, nor the resources to make possible such a structure as their descendants have built, and to which they now so faithfully and joyously resort at every call to worship."¹

However remarkable the growth of the Christian community in numbers and in generosity may be, the social effects of conversion are no less important. The living conditions in an outcaste village are as bad as any that can be found either in India or in any other country. The squalor and sordidness almost baffle description, and along with them go a servility of mind and spirit that probably is not equalled anywhere in the world. Dr. Pickett found that "almost 40 per cent of the families live in one-room houses. In more than five hundred of these rooms there lives at least one adult besides the father and the mother. In more than two hundred houses at least one cow, buffalo, ox, goat or pony shares the room. . . . Seventy per cent of all the houses examined have no windows; 16 per cent have only one window. Only 12 per cent of rooms commonly used for sleeping purposes have a window."²

To a certain extent these conditions tend to persist even after the villagers have become Christians. The results of centuries of degradation are

¹ *Christian Mass Movements in India*, by J. W. Pickett, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

not removed in a day. None the less, something like a revolution has taken place in outcaste villages consequent upon the advent of the gospel. To take one example, Christian worship and personal hygiene are very closely related in mass-movement villages. What induced these humble outcaste villagers to develop habits of personal cleanliness, to bother about fresh air and to put windows in their mud dwellings was neither government regulation nor the example of people higher in the social scale, but Christian worship in the church and the home. Dr. Pickett gives convincing proof that cleanliness is next to godliness, in that it is most in evidence in those areas where Christian worship has been most firmly established. Until the appearance of Dr. Pickett's important book no one dreamed of asserting that Christian worship was a social lever. To-day the case is established.

Recalling a group of Mala Christians in a village in the Vidyannagar area, he writes:

"The most moving aspect of the picture is of the people assembling for worship. A bell was rung and they came hurrying from the fields and the village. Ten or fifteen minutes later they began emerging from their houses and gathering at the church. Almost without exception they had washed and changed their clothes. The women had oiled and combed their hair in the simple but beautiful style of the Telugus, and a large proportion wore a flower in the hair. Men, women and

children approached the church quietly, but with apparent joy and eagerness. Entering, they knelt for private prayer, then sat on the mat-covered floor in rows; the men and boys on one side and the women and girls on the other. They sang heartily, joined in the responses of the liturgy and seemed, almost with one accord, to be absorbed in the worship of God. It was hard to realize that these attractively clad, clean and neat-looking, orderly worshippers could have developed in forty years from a group of dirty, shiftless, Mala outcastes.

"Here and there in nearly all of the areas we found Christian families growing flowers around their homes. We saw no flowers about the homes of non-Christians of the castes from which these mass-movement converts have come."¹

The effect of Christian conversion on illiteracy is even more striking. In India as a whole only 8 per cent of the population are literate, while 28 per cent of the Christian community are literate, and this in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the Christians are of outcaste origin. Of the men of India 14 per cent of the Hindus are literate, 15 per cent of the Mohammedans, and 35 per cent of the Christians. The figures are even more arresting in regard to women. Of the Hindu 2 per cent are literate, of the Mohammedans 1 per cent, and of the Christians 20 per cent. Dr. Pickett points out that it is where corporate wor-

¹ *Christian Mass Movements in India*, by J. W. Pickett, p. 132.

ship is regularly held that women are most literate and show most initiative. Where worship is not regularly held village women are backward, but where it is regularly carried on women will, when need arises, conduct religious meetings without embarrassment. In the same way child marriage, which tends to persist even in homes that have become Christian, is rarely, if ever, found where the families join week by week in corporate Christian worship.

The Native State of Travancore furnishes an example not only of remarkable Christian growth, but also of determined opposition. It is one of the strongholds of Hinduism and caste, and the authorities quite naturally view the growth in the Christian community with considerable apprehension. They fear that if Christianity continues to increase at the present rate it will be able to claim a majority of the population at no distant date. That would be a serious impasse in a country that votes by religious blocks or communities. For it would put the majority vote into the hands of the Christians in a state where Hinduism is the established religion. Clearly something must be done to prevent what the authorities would regard as a calamity, and in recent years they have taken measures to this end. Hinduism has been spurred into action, and the effect of that action may be seen in the rise and disappearance of the Ezhava movement.

The Ezhavas are a community of some two mil-

lions living in the extreme south of India, mostly in Travancore. In the census they are listed, to their great annoyance, amongst the "Exterior Castes". They are a virile people, with a strong communal consciousness, and have already achieved considerable social and economic enfranchisement. Many of them are people of education, with good houses and lands; and there have been lawyers, poets, doctors and religious leaders amongst them. For a long time they have been restless socially and religiously, and anxious to get rid of such disabilities as their exclusion from Hindu temples. They have even considered coming over to Christianity in a body, thus ridding themselves of the stigma attaching to outcaste birth. In February 1936 the executive of their caste organization resolved, by a vote of twenty-six to four, to recommend that the Ezhavas as a community should become Christians, and that a referendum should be taken at once. This decision alarmed the Hindu leaders. Opposition was immediately organized, and Hindu societies pressed petitions upon the Government. The authorities, realizing that it would not do to have a Christian majority in a Hindu state, took steps to slow down the movement. Certain privileges were given to the Hindus, with a view to keeping people loyal to Hinduism, while the disabilities of the Christians were increased. A Temple Entry Proclamation was issued, and certain educational advantages, previously open to all, were reserved

exclusively for students who bore Hindu names. By throwing open the State-controlled temples to caste and outcaste alike the Government removed, in part at least, the stigma of untouchability and thus countered one of the most powerful motives leading the outcastes to turn towards the Christian faith. By reserving certain educational advantages for Hindu students the Government at one and the same time offered a strong economic inducement to Christian students to return to the Hindu fold, and sought to prevent too large a proportion of Christians from securing good posts through their educational equipment. While few, if any, Christian students have returned to their Hindu names and faith in order to secure scholarships or other educational advantages, it has to be admitted that the Temple Entry Proclamation has been to a large extent effective. It won the approval of Mr. Gandhi, who personally conducted groups of outcastes into certain of the best-known temples, and it induced other provinces to issue similar proclamations. The result of bringing these political influences to bear upon the Ezhava movement has been to slow it down, save in so far as it expresses a genuine religious quest.

Christianity is not only growing in India, it is getting its roots down into the life of the people. Its reaction to nationalism has been to throw off its Western garb and to prove itself indigenous. At one time it was feared that national feeling might

be definitely harmful to the Christian cause, and even now that fear is not wholly allayed; but it is clear to-day that nationalism has not been without its advantages. It is now realized that if Christianity is to win the whole-hearted response of India it must prove itself to be not alien but racy of the soil. This has led to experiments in Indianization, many of which have been singularly fruitful. Indian music and modes of worship are becoming common. Indian architecture is being adapted to Christian purposes, and Indian methods of religious instruction are being baptized into Christ.

It is not uncommon in a town church to find that the Sunday worship conforms partly to Western and partly to Indian models. In such instances a couple of the hymns may be set to foreign tunes and played on a foreign instrument. The singing of these is apt to be dull and lifeless, and the worship is probably without savour or stimulus. Perhaps the next two hymns will be lyrics set to Indian tunes, with an accompaniment of Indian instruments, violins, drums, cymbals and horns. An answering chord at once is sounded in the heart of every Indian present, and the service immediately comes alive. From that moment the worship holds the attention and interest of the worshipper. Western modes of worship are being more and more replaced by those that are in accord with the national heritage, and the ordinary Indian, whether townsman or villager, is finding

himself drawn to Christian worship because its outward garb conforms to the Indian tradition.

The same is true of religious architecture. The most notable example of the use of Indian models for Christian purposes is probably the new Cathedral of Dornakal, which is so Indian in style that a visitor seeing it for the first time might well be pardoned for thinking it Moslem or Hindu. Examples on a less ambitious scale may now be found in almost every part of India. There is one in the grounds of the American hospital in Madura. It is a lovely creation, built of white stone, and on the model of a Dravidian temple. In front is a doorway, but no door; on the sides are no enclosing walls, but only a few square pillars to carry the flat stone roof. At the chancel end is a plain wall cut right through in the form of a cross as high as a man. Beneath the cross a couple of bowls of flowers stand on the tiled floor, and two Indian lamps hang from the roof near by. Apart from these there is not a single piece of furniture, not even a pulpit or a reading desk. The worshippers, including the preacher, sit on the tiled floor as in a temple, and during prayer bend forward their foreheads to the ground. The building is entirely Indian, yet simply and impressively Christian, and, like an Indian temple, its front and sides are open day and night to those who wish to meditate or pray.

The most notable advance in Indianization within the Christian movement is perhaps to be found

in the methods of evangelism. Two instances may be given, both being adaptations of ancient Indian practices.

In the one, which may be described as a kind of song-service with a good deal of action and dramatic representation thrown in, some twenty men and boys, dressed in white and green, formed a circle round a little band squatting on the ground in the middle of a south Indian village. For some time they danced to the singing of a Christian lyric. Then a lad of about eighteen years of age stepped into the centre of the ring and quietly took charge. He began to sing, and in the course of the next hour sang the main outlines of the gospel story in a simple and effective way. He described the life of Christ in short sentences of only a few words each. "He was tired," he sang, and as he did so he suited the action to the word, stooping down to the ground and laying his head sideways on his hands. As he did this the twenty dancers did likewise, singing those few words as they lay sideways on the ground, and singing every sentence, not once but three or four times, till everyone in the crowd around had them as a permanent possession in his mind. "He was hungry," "He was thirsty," sang the leader. "He was hungry," "He was thirsty," repeated the twenty, with suitable action. Over and over again they sang it, to one of the old folk-tunes of the country. "He lifted up His eyes to the Cross," sang the leader, standing erect with

outstretched hands and uplifted eyes. The twenty followed suit, singing those simple words over and over again, and like the leader, lifting up their hands and eyes. "He was laid in the tomb," sang the lad, lying flat upon the ground. "He was laid in the tomb," repeated the twenty as they also lay prostrate in the dust. Then rising and stretching out his hands to the crowd, he sang, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" A dozen times he sang it, and a dozen times, with outstretched, appealing hands, the twenty sang it after him.

Here dancing, singing, action-song and dramatic representation are all made to subserve the purposes of the gospel. It is a remarkable example of dramatized preaching and an indication that India is finding her own way of commending the gospel to her people.

The other method, and one that is increasingly being used, is based upon the old-time way of teaching illiterate village folk the stories in India's religious books. It consists of the singing of certain hymns or *bhajans* to the accompaniment of Indian musical instruments. These hymns describe a Biblical incident or parable, in a manner which the simplest villager will readily remember. The preacher or song-leader chooses, say, the story of Jonah and begins by singing praise songs to God, the instrumentalists and some of the audience joining in. This is followed by a description of the wonders of Nineveh. Then suddenly the leader bursts into song again and is

joined by the instrumentalists. In a few minutes the singing ceases and he begins to speak once more. This speaking part may be only a few minutes in length, or it may continue for ten or fifteen minutes. Then, without a word of warning, the leader breaks into song again, and the musicians join in with instruments and voices. There are several such breaks and short talks, and then the music once more. A service of this kind may go on for hours with this alternation of speech and song.

For a village audience made up largely of illiterate people, there is something attractive and dramatic in this method. The constant change, the variety and relief, the rhythm of the well-known melodies keep the interest alive, and not even a work-tired village crowd grows weary. It also has the advantage of not seeming to be strange, but in line with the methods of the wandering Hindu preachers, who for centuries have sung the stories of Hinduism into the hearts of India's villagers.

This adaptation of Indian models in ways of worship, styles of architecture and methods of evangelism has had much to do with the rapid growth of Christianity as well as with the removal of the charge of foreignness. It has made the Christian message more easily comprehended by the simple village folk who have been coming in such numbers into the Christian Church, and more acceptable to people in every class of society

because of its Indian garb.

It must not be supposed from this that the attack from Hinduism has been repelled or that it is about to be called off. On the contrary, the long history, the tenacious power and the absorptive capacity of Hinduism are a sufficient warning against too easy an assumption that its days are numbered. Hindu leaders are going to keep up their attack on Christianity, and they are going to use the nationalist argument to the full.

The leaders of the Indian Church are as keen as anyone else that their country shall attain Dominion status and complete self-determination in the immediate future. But that will not relieve them of religious and political pressure. The Congress Government has no love for the Christian cause. Some of the members of the Government will be glad to see its power wane, and others will not be adverse to passing discriminatory legislation aimed at the Christian community.

It may be that the Church will have to face something resembling persecution, or at least boycott, during the next few decades. Under this pressure it will be driven to establish its claim to be truly Indian. In securing recognition of that claim its problem will be to retain its supra-national character and to continue in close and living fellowship with Christians of other lands. It is possible that the stiffest fight before the Indian Church will be to win recognition, not only of its national, but also of its ecumenical character.

CHAPTER IV

IN AFRICA: THE PASSING OF TRIBALISM

THE most serious problem confronting the Christian Church in Africa to-day is the breakdown of tribalism. In every part of the continent the structure that held African society together is collapsing as though its foundations have given way. That is precisely what they have done. To make matters worse few people have any constructive proposals to put forward. There is a sense of bafflement in the face of what is regarded as regrettable, but beyond remedy. It looks as though African society will become atomized, and the African himself, who has hitherto lived within a closely organized community life, will become an individualized unit, a man who belongs nowhere. This, if it happens, will be a major tragedy.

It has to be admitted that, though many have studied the problem, there is no generally accepted solution. Administrators, anthropologists, settlers and industrialists have their various nostrums; but there is no common agreement. In some areas the policy of Indirect Rule is presenting a seeming solution; in other areas it is not proving a success. In some territories the policy of Native Reserves or that of assimilation to European culture is being tried; but the complete remedy is yet to seek. The view here put forward is that the Christian Church not only holds the secret of community in general, but that it is, in fact, giving to the de-

tribalized African who becomes a Christian the sense that he belongs somewhere, and is helping to create the new fellowship which may yet take the place of the tribal society that is vanishing.

The conflict between African tribalism and European culture began in earnest on the day when the Dutchman, Jan van Riebeeck, landed at the Cape in 1652 with instructions to establish a half-way house or port of call for the ships of the Dutch East India Company. Until then, Europeans had paid only occasional visits to Africa for trade or exploration. They had never remained long enough to affect the social structure of the African people. But from 1652 onwards permanent colonies began to be formed. The Europeans came to stay.

The first Africans that were touched by the new tide that began to flow were the primitive Bushmen and Hottentots, who not only offered no effective resistance, but just wilted and disappeared. Not so the Bantu tribes. They threw themselves without hesitation upon the invader and fiercely contested every step of the way. The white man none the less continued to advance; and from the moment that diamonds and gold were discovered, he began to claim South Africa as a white man's land. That claim sealed the doom of tribalism, for two cultures so different cannot be expected to flourish in the same land.

The settlers were, however, divided amongst themselves in their attitude towards the native

people. The Boers, determining to keep the Bantu in their place as hewers of wood and drawers of water, expressed their view in the *Grondwet*, or Constitution of the Transvaal, in the following words: "The people are determined to permit no equality between black and white in Church or State." The British, on the other hand, took a more enlightened view, and their policy is enshrined in Cecil Rhodes' inspired phrase, "Equal rights for all civilized men," and even more explicitly stated in the Royal Proclamation on the occasion of the annexation of Natal in 1843: "There shall not be in the eye of the Law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the Law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike." With the passage of time the Dutch view has gained precedence and may now be regarded as, to all intents and purposes, the official attitude of the Union of South Africa.

On his arrival in Africa the white man found wide areas undeveloped and apparently unowned. Assuming them to be waste lands he pitched his tent and pegged out his claim. As his numbers grew his hunger for land increased, and the African people soon found themselves being steadily ousted from their tribal territories. What the white man did not or would not understand was that all habitable land in Africa is owned, though the owners are not individual people.

Tribalism knows nothing of the private ownership of land. On the contrary, under tribal conditions the land belongs to the whole community, and no one, not even the Chief, has the power to alienate it. It is not his either to sell or to give away. For untold generations the tenure has been tribal, and each individual, as he comes to man's estate, receives such lands as are thought suitable for his needs. These lands are his to till, but not to sell. He has the user, not the freehold. And if at any time he ceases to need them they revert to the community and may be allotted to another member of the tribe.

This notion of land-tenure follows logically from the African conception of community. It is characteristic of tribalism that the community consists not merely of its living members, but also of the dead. They belong to the tribe just as much as the living, hovering around their old haunts and becoming literally the tutelary spirits of the place. It is this larger community of the seen and the unseen that is the real owner of the land, being linked with it in some mystic way and possessing it in perpetuity. In a society where there are no lasting creations of man, no enduring architecture, no abiding city, the land is the only visible symbol of man's permanence, and therefore doubly precious. If the land is torn from the community, as for example by military conquest, the dead as well as the living owners are dispossessed. The tribe is torn in two, the living being sundered

from the dead, and the community breaks up. No giving of other lands as compensation can reunite these dissevered parts. Such other lands are alien territories to the spirits. The possession of the ancestral lands is thus the condition of tribal immortality.

The white man's notion of the individual ownership of land was not only utterly opposed to the African conception, but was more responsible than any other single fact for the breakdown of tribal life. Chiefs, bewildered by the new conception, allowed the land to pass out of their possession, often without in the least understanding what they were doing, and quite unwittingly doing what they had no power to do. Not till it was too late did they find out that the white man had gained possession of the land once and for all. Often it was simply taken without any semblance of a transaction, and the Native people were just driven off. The general result is that to-day in many districts the Native African is a landless helot on the soil of his fathers. He has suffered, not merely the loss of his land and consequent economic impoverishment. He has also been bewildered by the disintegration of his whole spiritual universe. He has lost touch with his ancestral spirits, and has been deprived of the moral and religious supports of his life. There is no more fruitful cause of unrest in Africa, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Native question is fundamentally the land question.

In the Union of South Africa the Whites, who form approximately one quarter of the population, now enjoy nine-tenths of the land, while the Native people, who form nearly three-quarters of the population, are squeezed up in the remaining one-tenth. Such facts are widely known and discussed amongst the Bantu, and it is easy to understand the remark of a member of a Bantu club in Johannesburg, "When the white man came to this country he had the Bible and we had the land; to-day we have the Bible and he has the land."

Two attempts have been made to deal with this problem, one in Bantu and one in Negro Africa. In Bantu Africa it has taken the form of setting apart certain Native Reserves or areas in which no white man can hold land. The best that can be said of this attempt is that it might have been successful if it had been undertaken a century ago. To-day it can be nothing more than a partial and unsatisfactory palliative. As they exist now the Reserves consist of land that is poor in quality and insufficient in extent. According to Bantu ideas they are already overcrowded. Such an acknowledged authority as Professor W. M. Macmillan declares unequivocally in *The Land, the Native and Unemployment*, "the native reserves are totally inadequate".

In Negro Africa, notably in Nigeria, an attempt has been made to profit by the experience of South Africa, and legislation has been enacted making it impossible for the land to be alienated. Where-

ever steps of this kind have been taken the Native people have been saved, not only from economic exploitation, but also from tribal decay.

After the alienation of land, the coming of large-scale industry has probably been the main cause of the breakdown of tribal life.

The native people in almost every part of Bantu Africa are on the move; they are drifting to the towns. In part this is because they have been driven from the land. In part it is because they are compelled to pay Government taxes, and to pay them in cash not kind, and must therefore go where cash-paid employment can be found. In part it is because they are being compelled, by the increasing poverty of the Protectorates and Reserves, to seek their fortune in the urban areas. In part it is because they are lured away by the recruiting agents, who have the task of securing labour for the mines and plantations. In part it is because they want to "see life". Whatever the reasons, there can be no doubt about the movement. There is a widespread trek to-day from the village to the town, and with it there goes a mental trek. The African is moving away from his old mental and moral moorings, and he has not yet found a new and satisfying anchorage.

The process may be seen at work by comparing one of the great compounds on the Rand with one of the areas from which the workers come.

In the compounds the men are housed in vast barracks, where they live not a family but a

bachelor existence. They sleep on concrete shelves, hard but sanitary, arranged in two tiers, one above the other. They supply their own blankets and add mattresses if they like such luxury. Two meals a day of porridge and beans or meat and bread are provided; anything additional they have to provide themselves. For the most part they sign on for a period of nine months, and then return to their villages. Most of them, after resting for a few months at home, come back again and again for subsequent periods of indentured service. Town life gets its hold on them, and they do not easily settle down to the village routine. Drawn from all parts of Southern Africa, they flow through the mines in a constant stream. In some South African Reserves 50 per cent of the men are continually absent, while in Basutoland in the last thirty years 60 per cent of the able-bodied men have annually worked on the mines. Fully a quarter of a million go back every year from the Rand to their villages, most of them to return again and again to the mines, while additional men are recruited annually to make good the casualties. Thus the circulatory system is kept up and the life of the tribe subordinated to the needs of the industry.

The effect of this constant drain upon the manpower of a tribe may be seen by a visit to one of the areas from which the labourers are drawn, such as Bechuanaland or the Transkei. Almost everywhere the visitor will find an overwhelming

proportion of women, with the consequent upsetting of the balance of functions between the sexes. He will find the headman and the village elders, a surging swarm of women and children, but scarcely a man between the ages of twenty and fifty. He will be told that the absence of the men is having a disastrous effect upon the life of the tribe; that the children lack parental authority and are growing up vicious and undisciplined; that infidelity is common; that disease is rife; that the authority of the Chief and elders of the tribe is waning; that the moral restraints of community life are losing their hold; that there is general degeneration; that even the Christian Church is feeling the effect. It is obvious to anyone that the life of the tribe is suffering. The most enterprising and energetic men are being drained away. The great herds of cattle are deteriorating; the crops, tended only by the women, are yielding less and less; the people as a whole show evidence of malnutrition and physical decay; the tribe is in danger of losing virility and enterprise.

It does not take much imagination to realize that the effect of detribalization falls most heavily on the women. They have to take up as best they can the functions normally fulfilled by the men in the economy of village life. For example, heavy tasks, usually performed by the men in agricultural tribes, such as the turning and preparation of the ground, have to be undertaken by the women and boys, with a consequent excessive

strain upon their physical powers and a premature old age. On the moral side, too, the burden is heavy. Every African woman expects marriage and motherhood, and the very notion of spinsterhood is shocking. There is simply no place in African society for a respectable unmarried woman. The pressure of social custom would drive her either to mental collapse or prostitution. The departure of men of marriageable age to the mines or plantations is bringing it about that a proportion of the village women have no prospect of marriage. Some of them consequently go off to the mines where they cohabit with a man for the term of his indenture and then transfer to another; others wilt under the burden of personal frustration and social contempt, and deteriorate into drudges or the plaything of any passing man.

It is not suggested that all these distressful conditions are due to the trek to the towns. What is suggested is that the trek is one of the main causes of the breakdown of tribal life and the collapse of its sanctions and supports.

In the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia the visitor can see one of the clearest examples of the staggering effect of rapid industrial development upon a primitive and unprepared people. In the heart of the bush a group of mines has sprung up with engine-houses, machine-shops, power-houses, hospital, cinema, married and unmarried men's quarters, and all the other paraphernalia of a modern mining enterprise. Sirens and hooters

mark the hours of the shifts, men "clock on" for work or line up in the pay-queue, just as though they were in Sheffield or Coventry, whereas they are within a quarter of an hour of the primeval forest.

The men who work in these mines come from villages where they have been living as their ancestors have lived for countless generations. They pass from little huts made of nothing more permanent than mud and grass, to buildings of reinforced concrete or steel. Men who have never previously seen a machine find themselves in a short time put in charge of great electrically driven engines. They pass in a stride from the age of Abraham to that of Henry Ford. One day they are primitive farmers, the next day they are proletarians in a white man's enterprise.

This uprooting of a man from his tribal setting, and particularly the payment of individual wages, has had far-reaching results. It has struck at the foundations of the tribal system. The old order knew no individualism and no rise in rank. A man was born into his place in the tribe and there he stayed. To-day he can get out of it by his own efforts, and with the wages he earns can procure amenities which his tribal superiors do not possess. Under the old order his marriage was arranged for him. It was a semi-public affair between two social groups and was accompanied by the transfer of cattle and other recognized rites. To-day it is becoming a private matter between two individuals, easily begun and as easily ended; in neither

case requiring any tribal sanction. The individual is emerging from the group, and throwing off the restrictions of tribal custom. He is becoming a law unto himself. One consequence is a breakdown of moral restraints and an increase in the number of children born out of wedlock. The fathers are generally men who have been to the industrial areas, and who, if an attempt is made to fasten upon them the responsibility for their actions, evade it by accepting another contract and going off again to the mines.

Here again a particularly heavy burden falls on the women. The character of that burden for those who remain in the village has been indicated above. But that is not the only problem. In the Copper Belt and certain other industrial areas some of the mine-managers deliberately attempt to build up an industrialized population. That is to say they recruit not individual men but whole families. The aim is to encourage the workers to settle down as permanent residents with their wives and children around them. In this way the worker enjoys a natural family life, while the mines benefit by a steady labour supply on the spot and by the retention of the increasing skill of their workers. In all such cases it is usual, and perhaps necessary, for the industry to provide housing, food and hospital treatment for the workers. It is at this point that the problem begins to emerge for the women. Under village conditions it is the business of the women in some

tribes to build the house and keep it in repair, and in all tribes to look after it and keep it clean; it is also the women's task to grow, to harvest and to prepare the food. But under the conditions of life prevailing, for example, in the Copper Belt, these things no longer obtain. Standardized houses are provided and kept in repair by the mining authorities, in some cases rations are supplied, and in all cases food can be bought at the store. The women thus find themselves with time on their hands, and no idea of the way to use it. The consequence is demoralization and domestic decay.

Tribalism is on the wane and some new form of group life is necessary, particularly for the African whose traditions and inclinations are essentially social. Personality is not created *in vacuo*, least of all in Africa, but by intercourse with others. The needed new grouping is happily at hand in the Christian Church. The many Christian communities to be found in Africa today is a sufficient proof that the African feels that the Christian Church offers precisely what he needs.

Christianity has already succeeded, in a way that no other institution, European or African, has done, in producing new societies and groups. The African has taken eagerly to the Christian Church and found in it his new social and spiritual environment. In many areas the life of the territory has been saved from decay and given new vitality through the coming of Christianity.

The Christians are giving evidence of possessing greater vigour and a higher standard of life than the non-Christians. Their homes are more sanitary, their children better educated, and their church-members more responsible members of the community. They are giving evidence of having a new sense of citizenship with its own appropriate loyalties and obligations.

Two processes are thus at work in African society; the one loosening the individual from the context of the tribal life, the other bringing him into the new life of the Christian community. In many areas the Christian community is beginning to take the place of the tribe and to exercise functions of a somewhat similar character. The careless and unruly amongst its members are reprov'd, the dissolute and unrepentant are disciplined, the needy and aged are cared for, and all, without exception, are expected to contribute to the maintenance of the community's life and witness. In place of the traditional discipline of the tribe, the obligations to fellow-tribesmen, the hospitality due to the stranger, the services and taxes compulsorily paid to the Chief, and the discussion of public business in the tribal assembly, are the self-imposed discipline of the Church, the obligations to fellow-members, the welcome to strangers, especially to fellow-Christians, the contributions voluntarily paid to the funds of the Church, and the discussion of Church business in the regularly constituted Church committees. The two processes of

disintegration and reintegration are going on side by side. As the old pagan tribalism is losing its hold the new Christian communal life is gaining strength and creating its own appropriate forms.

In any particular area the Christian community may be poor and unimpressive, but it is a reality. It may not be influential as yet, but it exists as a factor in the life of the people. It has come to stay. It has its places of worship, its posts of leadership and responsibility, its synods and councils, its machinery of self-government and its methods of self-support, its organizations and societies, its regular meetings and common life. It is a living society with its roots deep in the life of the people. As it becomes increasingly indigenous it will more and more give to the individual African the sense that he belongs to a social group and is a member of a living fellowship.

But the Christian Church is larger than the local community, and the individual member quickly finds that he belongs to a society that is not limited to the village or even to the tribe. As he travels from place to place he finds that there are other Christian groups in the places to which he goes, and he can find fellowship with them. He is still a member of the Christian community. He discovers that his local congregation is linked with innumerable others, and that for the most part they all have the same rules and regulations, the same methods and practices, and the same loyalties and aims. He comes to realize

that in joining the Christian Church he has come into a new and greater tribe that gathers into itself all the local Christian units and associations. He finds that this greater tribe holds great assemblies to which men come from many places, celebrates festivals which are marked by much friendship and goodwill, and directs its leaders from place to place as need may arise.

Here in this new community the detached tribesman is beginning to find his place again. He no longer thinks of himself as a detribalized unit cut off from the common life. He knows that he has a place in a new and rich fellowship that oversteps the tribal barriers. He knows that, though he may be under the direction of a European master in the industrial and political sphere, within the fellowship of the Christian community he serves side by side with the European as his colleague, and that all posts are, in theory at least, open to him in proportion to his capacity. Within the fellowship of the Church the disabilities of his ordinary life are removed. Here he is a man, with full rights, and integrated into a community that transcends the life of tribes.

It is not suggested that the Christian Church, as a body of worshipping people, is the only means whereby either the African or his communal life can be reintegrated, much less is it intended to suggest that the rot will be stopped in African society if only every African will join the Christian Church. The disease is not likely to be cured

by so slick a remedy. As many as possible of the influences that bear upon African life must aim at re-making the individual and at reintegrating his social life if a satisfactory cure is to be found.

Education in particular must be called in to assist. This should not prove impossible in that there is already a fruitful association between the educational enterprise and the Christian Church. In British Africa most of the education of the African is in the hands of the Church; a large proportion of the teachers are Christians and the products of mission institutions; and in tens of thousands of villages the same building is used as both church and school. The Christian Church is thus in a position to give a rich and vitalizing conception to education as something which touches every part of the life of the community and seeks to refashion it with a view to providing a stable background for the individual.

To accomplish this, almost everything depends upon winning the co-operation of African teachers, inspiring them with a vision of a reintegrated society, and bringing them into partnership with those who are more intimately associated with the service of the Church, in order that Church and school may work to a common end. Dr. Gutmann, whose study of African society has been so penetrating, interprets the missionary task not as teaching, but as comradeship. He "repudiates the idea that the Western teacher has only to give and not to receive. In many respects the African, he

believes, is nearer to the true meaning of life than the European or American. The true relationship is a comradeship in which Africans and those from the West seek together a growing understanding of life in the light of the gospel. What Dr. Gutmann urges is in accord with the modern tendency to conceive of education as essentially a comradeship in learning. It is at the same time the true end of missionary activity, since it is the realization of that communion between persons in which human life finds its highest expression and fulfilment."¹

Education is probably the chief ally whose assistance should be sought in the task of remaking the African and reintegrating his society. Whether Government influence will be an aid in this task is not yet clear as there is no policy common to the whole of the country. In one territory the accepted policy is Segregation, in another Assimilation, and in a third Indirect Rule. The effect of these upon African society is so various that it is not likely to be helpful to discuss them here. A scrutiny of the other available agencies does not give much ground for hope. It looks as though the Christian Church must play the main part in providing the African with a stable setting for his life.

It must not be assumed from this that the task of reintegration is going to be easy. It is not. In

¹ *The Remaking of Man in Africa*, by Oldham and Gibson, pp. 146-7.

the first place the African shows a distressing tendency to break away and create new divisions within the fellowship of the Church. As long as he was under tribal conditions he enjoyed a rich fellowship and seemed to have learned much of the real meaning of community. But once he gets inside the Church he is apt to develop a fissiparous tendency and on the slightest pretext to start a new sect. In the Union of South Africa alone there are 292 Christian sects amongst the Native people. To a somewhat less extent the American Negro exhibits the same tendency. It looks as though, lacking the powerful restraints of tribal life, he cannot resist the temptation to break away and create a new fellowship when he feels so inclined.

In the second place, an African Church cannot be said to have emerged as yet in sufficient strength to resist the erosion of European example. It will not be easy for the African to fight the uphill battle of constructive reintegration against the powerful and disintegrating influences of European life. The task will be particularly difficult in face of the tacit or acknowledged colour bar that the European has introduced into Africa, and in some cases into the Christian Church.

But when all is said it remains that the African takes readily to the Church. He finds a sense of community in its fellowship and comes to his full stature as a member of this society which, in theory at least, transcends personal and tribal and racial divisions.

CHAPTER V

IN THE NEGRO WORLD: THE COLOUR BAR

THE acid test of the reality of the Christian fellowship is the colour bar. There are considerations of class and wealth, of birth and education which divide the Christian Church, but everyone admits that they are sub-Christian and unworthy, and agrees that in a proper ordering of social life they would disappear. The colour bar, on the other hand, is upheld by some of the best of men, and defended in many cases on moral and religious grounds.

The roots of colour-consciousness go deep into personal and social life. Men who in other respects are just and restrained, lose both their restraint and their sense of justice when their race-consciousness is stirred. In some instances they just see red and do not attempt to explain their aberration. In other instances they try to rationalize their resentment and put forward social or economic or other considerations by way of explanation. On the other side of the bar are the people of colour, increasingly aware of their rights, increasingly sensitive to their wrongs, and increasingly resentful of the discriminations against them. On the one side is a rising tide of black resentment, on the other a

solid wall of white resistance. On both sides the deepest feelings are affected, and emotions, intellect and will are engaged. Race-consciousness is one of the most powerful and explosive forces in modern life, and the existence of a colour bar is one of the severest tests of the reality of the Christian fellowship.

The awareness of colour differences appears to be a modern phenomenon. It seems to have had no place in the ancient world. Homer spoke of "the blameless Ethiopian". Imperial Rome admitted her coloured citizens to many of the highest offices in the state. Shakespeare saw no reason why he should not make a Black-a-moor a suitor for the hand of Portia. At least until the time when the white race began to extend its political and commercial sway over the coloured world, mankind seems not to have been conscious of distinctions of race or colour.

Colour-consciousness seems to be most keenly felt by the white race—yet not all branches of the white race display it equally. Those that are of Mediterranean stock exhibit few of the symptoms, while those that are of so-called Nordic stock appear to be acutely aware of every difference in race and colour.

The new feature in this problem is that a consciousness of colour has begun to appear in recent years amongst the coloured people themselves. It began to show itself amongst them in 1904 when Japan had beaten Russia to her knees. The

victory of Japan set the nerves of the whole coloured world tingling with excitement. In remote villages of North India, while men sat in their circles and passed round the *hugqa* at night, in Native compounds on the Rand, in Negro training institutions in North America, as well as in the Far East itself, the one topic of wondering conversation was the victory of Japan. They saw that the fetish of white invincibility lay smashed like Dagon in the dust.

The mental revolution, begun in the Russo-Japanese War, was completed in the World War. Coloured men, brought into the struggle by both sides, found themselves equipped and encouraged to kill the white man, and the fetish of white inviolability went by the board. More important still was the fact that Africans of varving tribes were drafted into labour corps or fighting units, and for the first time many of them were able to look over the barriers of tribal exclusiveness and to make the discovery that they were all of one race.

This same discovery has also been made in Africa itself by tens of thousands of men who are yearly thrust into each other's company in the compounds of Johannesburg, and in the other great centres of population and industry. They come to these centres of employment from tribes that are often hostile, that have traditional prejudices, and that differ greatly in speech and customs. But even amongst people of such wide differences a

sense of solidarity arises. They discover that they are of one blood.

Negro race-consciousness has emerged much more clearly in America than in Africa. The fact that millions of Negroes have lived for centuries in a civilized setting has enabled them to express their resentments and articulate their aspirations. They resent such facts as that in parts of the "Deep South" a Negro may not leave the plantation on which he was born; or that a black stranger, say in Baker County, Georgia, may be stopped and made to state his business, and if his answer is not considered satisfactory, he may be arrested or removed; or that the vote which he is granted under federal law is filched from him by the regulation or practice of the individual state; or that he pays for the upkeep of public parks and libraries, but may not enter either; or that he has to book his railway ticket at a different office from the white man, travel in a different compartment, stay at a different hotel, send his son to a different school, and become a member of a different church.

The Negro reaction to this discrimination is two-fold. There is one school that still pursues the policy laid down by Booker Washington, which, reduced to a sentence, was "do not trouble about securing your rights, be anxious only to deserve them". He urged them to refuse to become embittered and to aim at so raising themselves by worthy work that the whites would not be able

to withhold equal treatment, and would one day gladly give it. He held that the end of education was the making of men, not money. Accordingly at the Tuskegee Institute, which he founded, when a Negro has learnt to make a good wagon he is not retained to do so for the financial advantage of the institute or himself. He is sent out to help others, and the institute proceeds to train another raw youth to make wagons. This school of thought has no rancour in its propaganda and no cry for reprisals against the white man. But it must be admitted that it overlooks certain elements of true manhood; so at least the school of thought that is associated with the name of Burghardt Du Bois thinks.

Du Bois and his school maintain that it is not enough to teach a man to make a good wagon and earn an honest living. Life is more than meat, and education than technical efficiency. They claim that the Negro must be recognized as fully a man, and must therefore have justice, freedom and equality before the law. They are out to win for the black man something more than industrial training and the chance to earn good wages; they are concerned with deeper issues—with the souls of black folk, their freedom, their culture, their right to a full life. They accordingly stand for agitation, for the vote, and for a place in the sun for all Negroes on equal terms with white men. Here is race-consciousness, fully articulated and alive.

It should be added that many of the Negroes, with help from white friends, are making the colour bar of none effect by slowly climbing above it. Largely in consequence of their educational advancement they are now forging ahead in business and professional life, and gradually emerging from their economic thralldom to the white man. Their educational and economic progress enables them to avoid some, at any rate, of the disabilities of their lot, though it also makes them all the more sensitive to those that remain.

Though a sense of racial unity is emerging in Africa, it is hardly possible to speak of a race-movement amongst the Bantu. Africa as a whole has not yet attained the educational level necessary for such a clear articulation of racial aspirations. But if there is no organized race-movement there is plenty of racial unrest and inchoate discontent. Africa has not yet produced indigenous leaders of the necessary calibre and ability to be the guides and spokesmen of this newly emerging race-consciousness. In the far-scattered villages of the veld and the forest there is little talk of race questions, though there is plenty of criticism of the white man; but in the great industrial centres the colour bar is a constant topic of disillusioned and embittered conversation.

Out of this mingled unrest and generalized race-feeling, a semi-religious, semi-political movement known as Ethiopianism has emerged and has taken as its slogan "Africa for the Africans". It

shows itself in separatist movements within the Christian Church, but more often its propaganda is conducted in subterranean ways. African social life has from time immemorial been honeycombed with secret societies, and racialism tends to run in these underground channels, emerging in one area as the Watch Tower Movement, in another as a Prophet Movement, or in a third as a Bantu Club.

African race-consciousness is fed from a dozen other sources, such as the breakdown of tribal life, the burden of Native taxation, the squalor of the locations, the indignities of the Pass Laws, and the discrimination before the law. Mr. W. C. Scully relates in the *Edinburgh Review* that two Europeans who had fought in the Great War were convicted of robbing passengers in a train at Johannesburg. The magistrate, after commenting on their having served in France, passed sentence of three weeks. A week later a Native, who had been in a Labour Corps in France, was caught pilfering railway property. The magistrate held that the man's service in France "only aggravated the offence" and sentenced him to four years' hard labour and fifteen lashes. The white workers in South Africa have full liberty to organize Trades Unions for the protection of their interests. The Native workers, however, are expressly forbidden to do so. The Industrial Conciliation Act of the Union of South Africa denies to all Natives, save those living in the Cape Province, the right to form

labour combinations. The African is naturally puzzled and in a mood to be angry. As General Smuts has said, he has begun to lose faith in the white man.

The more civilized and better-educated Bantu know these facts and resent them. Many of them are steeped in European thought. They read the same books and journals as the white man. They have the same values and share the same ideals. Intellectually and morally many of them can stand side by side with the white man. Yet they know that a social and political gulf yawns between them. In individual cases the gulf may be bridged by personal kindness and consideration, by good relations between masters and servants, by friendship and goodwill. But when full allowance is made for such cases the fact remains that the African is made aware every day that he is regarded as a member of an inferior race. He is discriminated against politically, economically and socially. On the ground, not of any personal unworthiness and incompetence, but because of the colour of his skin, he is deprived of the vote, excluded from skilled occupations and refused admission to white society.

If the black man's consciousness of colour is due mainly to the discrimination he has suffered, the white man's is due largely to the discrimination he has inflicted. It is, in fact, an evil legacy of the slave-holding days and of the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

When the white man landed at the Cape and marked out his vast farms he began to look around him for suitable labour. Finding little or none, he took the disastrous step of introducing slaves. The direct result was the creation of a new problem—the "poor white". Cheap labour is always bad labour, and slave labour is the worst possible. No nation can introduce it into its economic life without paying the penalty, and South Africa has been no exception. As long ago as 1716 a South African Dutchman, named Van Imhoff wrote, "I believe it would have been far better had we, when this colony was founded, commenced with Europeans, and brought them hither in such numbers that hunger and want would have forced them to work. But having imported slaves, every common or ordinary European becomes a gentleman, and prefers to be served rather than to serve . . . they consider it a shame to work with their own hands."

The whole of South Africa is infected by this spirit. All manual labour is regarded as menial and is contemptuously dubbed "Kaffir's work". The white man is disinclined to do anything that is usually done by the Native, and there has arisen a class of "poor whites", untrained in skilled activities and unwilling to do unskilled or "Kaffir" work. They constitute the most pathetic problem in the social life of South Africa, and to-day number nearly one-tenth of the white population of the Union.

Having brought into his economic and social

life a plentiful supply of cheap labour, the white man is now alarmed at the consequences of his own act. He is afraid of being swamped by the sheer numbers of those whom he has brought into employment; afraid also of being ousted from the labour market by Native Africans who can maintain their industrial efficiency at a wage and amid conditions which would be impossible for white men. He is really alarmed lest the physical virility of the Bantu and their capacity for assimilating white civilization should lead to the submergence of white culture and the swamping of the white race. "Maybe we are afraid," said General Hertzog to the Government Native Conference in Pretoria as long ago as December 3rd, 1925, "and it may be that our policy is dictated by fear; be it so, but our fear is wisdom, for what we fear is a bad future." With that fear haunting him the white man has determined to bang and bolt the door in the face of the advancing African and to say: "Thus far and no farther." The Colour Bar Act of 1926 was intended to keep the Bantu in a permanently inferior position in the labour world.

It is doubtful if any policy could be more short-sighted. The effect of the colour bar in industry is to limit the Africans to tasks that offer no scope, develop no latent capacities, and leave them inefficient because untrained. They are kept permanently below the best of which they are capable, and the whole country is the poorer.

The industrial wastage thus caused is enormous. To keep a whole people permanently below their full capacity is as economically wasteful as it is ethically wrong. The attempt to build a state on a basis of slave labour has always failed; and South Africa is proving to-day that the attempt to erect a state on a basis of divided and degraded labour, carries within itself the seeds of its own undoing. Dependence on the manual toil of another race, especially when combined with an unfavourable climate, undermines the efficiency of the ruling people and lowers its moral standards. It is difficult even for the best Europeans to maintain their cultural and moral level when they live in close and constant contact with a race that has a lower standard. If it is difficult for the best it is almost impossible for the worst. The "poor white" to-day has sunk to the level of the most feckless Native and is just a parasite on African society, as much to be pitied as the Native whom he affects to despise. An industrial system that allocates employment on the basis, not of capacity but of colour, creates insoluble problems for itself. South Africa is a sufficient proof that whatever is morally indefensible is in the long run economically unsound.

It must be frankly admitted that the attitude of the Christian Church in relation to the colour bar is unsatisfactory. All too often it has merely reflected the opinion of the community it served. For example, the early Dutch settlers in South

Africa refused to recognize any equality between black and white, and wrote their refusal into the Constitution of the Transvaal. Unhappily, the Dutch Reformed Church—the largest and most influential Church in South Africa—merely echoed the view of the state and agreed to the sentence in the *Grondwet* that affirmed, “The people are determined to permit no equality between black and white in Church or State.” That determination is not only in the Constitution, it is also reflected in the practice of the Church. No African, not even a communicant member of the Christian Church, may join with white people in the worship of God in a place of worship of the Dutch Reformed Church. There is strict segregation in religious as in social life. Denominations that have a more liberal outlook adopt a less exclusive attitude; but there are few in South Africa that do not in some degree observe a colour bar within their own internal life. This fact is not stated as a reproach, but in deep penitence and as some indication of the almost insoluble difficulties of the colour problem. Christians who live in lands where no colour problem presses have no cause to complain against their fellow-Christians; it is doubtful if their attitude would have been much different had their history and experience been the same.

The southern part of the United States also furnishes an example of the colour bar within the Church. For many years the Methodist Church

has been divided on the question, the southern section finding itself unable to admit the full equality of Negro and White within the fellowship of the Church. In 1938 the two great branches of Methodism in the United States joined forces, and one of the most delicate issues in the union discussions concerned the position of the Negroes in the united Church. In the end a compromise was effected. The united Church was divided into four Conferences, three of them, arranged on a geographical basis, were to be exclusively white in membership, the fourth was to be wholly black. The four Conferences are of equal status, and the officers in each are of equal rank with the officers in the other three, but they exert their functions in separate spheres. It is a mingling of equality and segregation within the same Church, and is clearly an interim arrangement, and the one remaining step to full equality must be taken by some future generation. Those who know how thorny the race problem in the Southern States is will give thanks for this real, though incomplete, advance.

The questions at once arise, what is to be the future relation of the two races, and what, if anything, has the Christian Church to contribute to the solution of the problem?

One possibility is the method of repression. This policy finds few exponents amongst responsible people, though in certain sections of the population there is a good deal of noisy advocacy of what is

vulgarly known as "keeping the nigger in his place". It is sufficient to say that there is no possibility of permanently repressing a vigorous and virile people. The attempt to do so is like trying to cork up a volcano. The progress that the African has made, not only in his own country, but also in America, in spite of heavy handicaps, is a proof of the impossibility of setting bounds to the march of a race. To attempt to keep a whole people in a position of permanent inferiority is not only immoral and sub-Christian, it is also impossible in practice.

A second possibility is the method of segregation. This is the policy which is favoured by many of the wisest and most experienced authorities on race relations. It is an attempt to separate the spheres in which the two races live, so that they are divided from one another in residence and recreation, in work and worship. This may be described as the official policy of the Union of South Africa, and the one that it has been steadily pursuing for several years. It is popularly described as letting the African "develop on his own lines"; in practice it involves denying him equality in political, social and industrial life. He is not permitted to vote at parliamentary elections, nor to share in social life with Europeans, nor to undertake the work of a skilled craftsman. He may, however, take part in sending a representative to a Native Assembly that has no executive power, or live in a location set apart for Native people,

or do the heavy, unskilled work of the community. That much in his own country, but no more. In practice the policy of allowing the Native African to "develop on his own lines" means to develop on the lines laid down for him by the white man.

Full and complete segregation no serious person advocates. It would involve the complete separation of the Native from the white people, leaving the latter without servants in their homes, without errand-boys in their shops, and without unskilled workers in every branch of industry. Complete segregation is an impossible proposal, and any attempt to carry it out logically would bring African life to a standstill.

What is generally meant by segregation is some partial policy, such as the application of what is often loosely referred to as the colour bar. In practice this involves the close interaction and interdependence of European and African in domestic and industrial life, the European, for example, doing the skilled work in any enterprise and the African the unskilled. Under this system the African is as necessary as the European, and may be as well qualified, but the European necessarily occupies the superior position and receives the superior salary.

Wherever this colour bar policy has been adopted, and however sympathetically it has been applied, it has been a source of continual friction. The African feels that he is being deprived of

opportunities of advancement that he could turn to good account, and excluded from types of work that he is quite able to undertake. He is increasingly convinced that the motive behind the segregation policy is really the desire to keep him in a permanently inferior position.

No one disputes that it is permissible to discriminate against a man if he is dirty when he can be clean, or illiterate when he can be taught, or lazy when work is available, because these are matters which it is within his power to change. But the Christian conscience asks whether it is permissible to discriminate against a man because of something over which he has no control and can never alter, such as the colour of his skin or the stock from which he sprang.

It may be desirable for a time, perhaps for a long time, to keep races of widely differing cultural levels apart, and to reserve areas for the exclusive use of one or the other; it may even be well that in towns there should be locations or quarters, in view of the fact that the African can underlive the European. But such a policy is not final. When a man of coloured race has come to share the refinements, education, religion, ideals and general outlook and way of life of the white man, should not the barriers be removed? And should it not be the declared policy that they will be removed? The policy of segregation is at best a temporary expedient.

The third policy is that of the Open Road and

the Equal Opportunity. It is enshrined in the phrase "equal rights for all civilized men", and proceeds upon the belief that the solution of the racial problem is by confidence and co-operation. Ultimately the future of the African lies with the African himself. But, as Dr. Westermann¹ has written, "the European will have to give the African a fair chance. In most parts of Africa that can be done without any difficulty, and it is in fact taking place. It is less easy where, as in South Africa, the European has made his home. Here a wise policy will not shut its eyes to the necessity of seeking for a solution which will give equal justice to both sides. No one can ignore the fact that, as in the whole of Africa so also in the south, the Natives are on the path of progress. It would be unreasonable to deflect them from this path or to forbid them to go beyond a certain limit of culture."

With the spread of civilization there is growing up all over the world a single cultural environment common to all races. As advance is made towards this common background of civilized life, racial development is quickened and additional argument is forthcoming for the New Testament view that all men are potentially equal, or at least that all alike share in a capacity for unlimited development. This is the presupposition of the Gospel that God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in

¹ *The African To-day*, p. 333.

Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. In the Christian view there are no necessarily and permanently superior or inferior peoples. The contrary view is as untrue to the facts of life as it is to the message of the gospel. Any policy that keeps races in subservience, or compulsorily apart, is likely to stunt growth and to rob humanity of the special gifts which each race should bring into the common stock. It distorts the development of the weaker race, and involves the stronger in the sin of arrogance and contempt, coarsening the moral fibre and blunting the edge of its conscience. It seems to many of the most responsible authorities that the only course open is the Christian one of removing every obstacle that hinders the advance of the Africans and of lending them every aid in their racial development. The only tolerable view of human beings is God's view; and in His sight men of whatever race are worth dying for. It would seem to follow that there can be no final refusal of power and opportunity on the ground of race, but that, on the contrary, every assistance should be given to the African people to reach the height of their possibilities and enter into relationships with the white race of mutual service and equal regard.

The contribution of the Christian Church is in part suggested in what is said above, particularly under the head of the policy of the Open Road and the Equal Opportunity. But something more is needed; some demonstration that within its own

fellowship the Christian Church has solved this problem and can therefore indicate to the world the path to follow.

It must be admitted that the Church can point to no consistent practice. Roman Catholicism has on the whole a better record than Protestantism. This is due in part to the fact that the Roman Church inherits the tradition of the Roman Empire in which no colour bar was drawn, and in part to the fact that for centuries the Church's practice has been mainly fashioned by people in the Mediterranean basin whose colour consciousness is slight. Whatever the reason may be, the fact remains that the colour bar is rarely found within the Roman Church. Nor is it found within the Society of Friends. Wherever that small communion of Christian people has spread itself, it has steadily refused to countenance a colour bar. A few other Christian denominations have a somewhat similar record, while a much larger number are trying to rid themselves of the last vestige of race discrimination.

The Oxford Conference put the position of the Christian Church quite unequivocally in the following words:

"The existence of black races, white races, yellow races is to be accepted gladly and reverently as full of possibilities under God's purpose for the enrichment of human life. And there is no room for any differentiation between the races as to their intrinsic value. All share alike in the con-

cern of God, being created by Him to bring their unique and distinctive contributions to His service in the world.

"Here again, however, the gift can be, and is, abused. The sin of man asserts itself in racial pride, racial hatreds and persecutions, and in the exploitation of other races. Against this in all its forms the Church is called by God to set its face implacably and to utter its word unequivocally, both within and without its own borders.

"Moreover, it is a first responsibility of the Church to demonstrate within its own fellowship the reality of community as God intends it. It is commissioned to call all men into the Church, into a divine society that transcends all national and racial limitations and divisions. In the services of worship, in its more intimate fellowship, in its organization and in the hospitality of the Christian home, there can be no place for seclusion or segregation because of race or colour. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ.' To allow the Church's lines of action to be determined by racial discrimination denies the Gospel whose proclamation is its task and commission."¹

During the very period in which the Christian Church has been clarifying its view and Christianizing its practice, the race problem has emerged in a new form in the public life of Europe. This is perhaps another proof of its deep-seated character.

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, pp. 72-3.

This recrudescence of race discrimination in Europe and its entrenchment in legislation has mainly political and economic motives. *Mein Kampf* is full of the crudest form of race feeling, and frankly advocates that the theory should be made to yield political and economic results. It was but natural, therefore, that the Nazi regime should enunciate a doctrine of race and enforce it by legislation, even though it was repudiated by natural and moral science.

The doctrine of the "Aryan Race" has, of course, no foundation in assured scientific fact. The Aryan Race and the Semitic Race are myths invented to subserve the purpose of the party, and are probably meant to be dropped once the purpose is achieved. In the meantime the theory is put forward with a great show of pseudo-scientific reasoning. But in point of scientific fact, ethnologists are emphatic that there are no pure races.¹ Man is such a mobile being that there have been large-scale migrations and intercrossings since before the dawn of history. To-day there is neither a pure Aryan nor a pure Jewish race. One racial type overlaps with and merges into another. For instance, there is more likeness, in all the measurable characteristics known to science, between the Jews of Berlin and the Gentiles of Berlin than between the Gentiles of Berlin and Gentiles of East Prussia. The Jews—or for that matter the Germans—of different areas are not genetically

¹ See *We Europeans*, by Huxley, Haddon and Carr-Saunders.

equivalent, and in each area the Jewish population overlaps with the non-Jewish in every conceivable characteristic. Many "Jewish" characteristics are much more the product of Jewish tradition and upbringing, and especially of reaction to pressure and persecution, than of heredity.

The race doctrine of modern Europe is so devoid of reliable foundation that it is not scientifically important. Its importance is political, economic and social. Upon it "the New Order in Europe", it is asserted, will be built. In accordance with it the map will be redrawn, whole populations moved, migration helped or hindered, employment decided and marriage regulated. The laws and regulations that are to be or that have already been made will have behind them all the force of the State and all the weight of the new vested interests that are being created.

In the face of this powerful combination what can the Christian Church do? Its position in regard to race discrimination, as expressed in the Report of the Oxford Conference, is quite unmistakable. Is the Christian Church strong enough to maintain that position against this new torrent of race feeling? To attempt to do so will inevitably mean persecution. Is the Church willing to take the risk?

CHAPTER VI

IN EUROPE: CHAOS OR COMMUNITY

IN his book *The New World Order* Mr. H. G. Wells affirms that one of the most revolutionary influences in the modern world is "the abolition of distance". The railway, the motor-car and the aeroplane have brought almost to our doorstep people and places that were remote a generation ago; while the press, the telegraph, the film and the radio have made information about them so rapidly and so vividly available that the world has become one neighbourhood.

The conquest of space is not the only significant achievement. The advance of science has made it possible to reach across frontiers, to bridge oceans, to exchange information, to share the achievements of learning and to build up a common intellectual background to civilized life. On the intellectual as well as the physical plane the modern world is a unit and the peoples of the earth possess all the elements necessary for understanding and fellowship.

It is scarcely surprising that men, judging by externals, were impressed by this progress and regarded its further and unlimited development as almost inevitable.

But it soon became clear that though the world was one neighbourhood, it was far from being one brotherhood. At the very moment when external unity seemed to have been achieved, it was discovered that internal disintegration had set in. It is as though some sickness lies at the heart of the contemporary world, some demonic element turning its good to ill. For the victory of physical science, which appeared to have abolished space and unified the world, merely cloaked the fact that forces were at work dissolving the unity and making the new nearness of men a cause of irritation and conflict. "The world", as Romain Rolland has said, "has become a unity, and for this high destiny mankind is not yet fit."

It is not necessary to be a medievalist to believe that the failure to secure unity when it seemed so near to achievement is due to the absence of anything that can properly be called Christendom. There was a time when Christianity laid down rules for business and public affairs. The rules might not be obeyed, but at least they were not repudiated. No one dreamed of saying that religion was not competent to pronounce on such matters. On the contrary, it was generally recognized that there were standards to which business and politics ought to conform, and that it was perfectly proper for the Christian community to insist that those standards should be maintained. In his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* Mr. R. H. Tawney says that "the assumption was that

the whole fabric of Society and the whole range of its activities stand by no absolute title, but must justify themselves at the bar of religion". Whatever else may be said about that position, it must be acknowledged that it yielded a coherent universe of thought and helped to make a unity of human life and action.

It is sufficient to say that that background of a commonly accepted philosophy of life disappeared and the application of the moral teaching of Christianity to every sphere of human activity ceased to be made. Theology was no longer the "Queen of Sciences", it became the Cinderella.

A new world of thought, essentially secular, came into being in which each separate area of human interest was held to be a kingdom with its own laws and its own sovereign rights. Economics was said to have a sphere which is different from that of ethics; and politics was declared to know no necessity save that of its own making. Business was business, and art was for art's sake. All these were asserted to be areas in which their own standards applied and where the Sermon on the Mount was irrelevant.

It was the essence of secularism that it broke up the unity of life and thought and built in its place a series of closed compartments. Whether these agreed or conflicted with one another did not signify. The important thing was that no external standard or authority was tolerated. There was no place for a universal moral standard in this

closed system of secular thought, much less for a transcendent God. Each sphere of life was a self-contained department. The authentic word of that era was put into popular speech by Lord Melbourne when he petulantly remarked, "Things have come to a pretty pass when religion interferes with a man's private life." The same word has been frequently heard since in the assertion that religion should not attempt to pronounce upon public affairs.

This had the effect of relegating Christianity to the position of being just one of the departments of life; a specialized interest for those who cared for such things. It ceased to be a regulating principle. It no longer passed judgment on other forms of activity, but became one of them, with no more authority than they possessed. Deprived of its absolute character, it sunk into the mire of relativism, and modern life found itself deprived of any final or universally accepted principles of right. International morality lost what authority it had and treaties came to possess no more value than a scrap of paper. "What confronts us in international politics to-day", says Professor E. H. Carr in *The Twenty Years Crisis*, "is nothing less than the complete breakdown of the conception of morality."

Looking back on that period now it is clear that the unity achieved by physical science was illusory, and that beneath the surface of an externally unified world there was another world of chaos

and decay. Men had political freedom, but they were still in economic bondage. There was a higher standard of living, but there was also irresponsibility. There was better education, but there was also growing scepticism, anxiety and mistrust.

This moral collapse gave birth in its turn to widespread disillusionment. "Men felt", as Gerald Heard put it in *The Third Morality*, that "Newton banished God from nature. Darwin banished Him from life. Freud drove Him from His last fastness, the soul." The disappearance of accepted and authoritative standards gave the feeling that everything was "going to pieces". In nearly every European country there was a sense of injustice and frustration. Government followed government in quick succession. The threat of unemployment came nearer, and the menace of war, despite the war to end war, became more imminent. Insecurity, like a spectre, haunted men's minds. Public confidence waned. The great principles and mutual assumptions that made community existence possible gave way. Europe became a world of cynical and disillusioned peoples.

The Oxford Conference in 1937 summed up the *malaise* by saying that religious beliefs had hitherto been able "to preserve the essential structure of the various communities in which men have lived their lives together. To-day, however, as probably only once or twice before in human history, the foundations themselves are shaken. Traditional

pieties and loyalties and standards of conduct have lost their unquestioned authority; no new ones have taken their place. As a result the community life of mankind has been thrown into confusion and disintegration. Though more marked in some sections than in others, these facts are in some measure universal. This social disunity is reflected in the life of the individual man and woman, whose personal destiny is largely bound up with his relation to the community. When society 'goes to pieces' the individual tends also to 'go to pieces', in suffering, frustration, and a baffled sense of the futility and meaninglessness of his existence. In many countries vigorous attempts are being made to restore social unity by drastic control and regimentation, and by making national or class unity the supreme good, to take precedence of all else. These bear witness to the truth of what has just been said and to the primal need of human life as God has made it for community and fellowship."¹

It is to these vigorous attempts to restore social unity and cohesion that we now turn.

In one part of Europe after another attempts were made to find new co-ordinating principles by means of which the chaos of modern life could be reduced to order once again. A demand arose for new absolutes which would rescue Europe from the morass of relativism. The demand created its supply, and in a short time there arose the

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, pp. 67-8.

great experiments of Communism in Russia, the Corporative State in Italy and National Socialism in Germany. This emergence of the absolutist or totalitarian state is one of the distinctive phenomena of the contemporary world.

The totalitarian state has been defined as "a state which lays claim to man in the totality of his being; which declares its own authority to be the source of all authority; which seeks to impose on all its citizens a particular philosophy of life; and which sets out to create, by means of all the agencies of public information and education, a particular type of man".¹

There is nothing new in the absolutist state. It has existed in one form or another throughout recorded history. What is new is the range of its power and its ability to mould men to an approved pattern. The despotisms of earlier days could impose their wills on relatively few and could extend no farther than their armed might could reach. Those of to-day can reach not only to the limits of the world and to myriads of people, but also to the deepest depths of human personality. All the achievements of science are tools in the hand of the modern dictator. Through the school and the clinic, the press and the radio, and a dozen other means, he can influence and in some measure control the very thoughts and feelings of the people he rules.

To a large extent this is due to the important

¹ *Church, Community and State*, by J. H. Oldham, p. 9.

shift of interest that has taken place in scientific circles, from a desire to harness the forces of nature to an attempt to control human nature itself. The change may be illustrated in the field of education by a comparison of the way in which the teacher of yesterday and the teacher of to-day respectively regard their function. The teacher of yesterday thought of himself as set to teach mathematics or geography, while the teacher of to-day regards himself as engaged to teach boys or girls. The interest has moved from the subject to the scholar, and the concern of the teacher is not to give information so much as to train citizens, not to impart knowledge so much as to mould life. The importance of this change can hardly be exaggerated. The older type of teaching made no attempt to reach down to the deep places of personality; it was content to inform the intellect. But when the interest was transferred from mathematics and geography to the boy and the girl, a whole set of new issues immediately arose. What kind of man is it desired that the boy should become? What influences should be brought to bear upon him to achieve this? What ideas or notions ought to be set before him? And when the state stepped in and took control of education, the questions asked were: What kind of man does the state desire to have? What kind of notions should the pupil imbibe? What sort of moral code should be set up for him?

There has been a similar shift of interest in

other fields of human activity, and as the interest has moved new methods of control have been discovered. The advances that have been made in the realms of psychology and sociology have not only provided the means of moulding the lives of schoolchildren and college students, but have revealed undreamed of possibilities of shaping the lives of whole nations.

It is precisely this new power that the modern dictator has seized. He has taken education, formal and informal, into his control, and has pressed the school and the college, the press and the radio, the cinema and the pulpit, the clinic and the club into his service. He has decided what information men are to receive, what thoughts they are to think, what emotions they are to feel, and what responses they are to make. He has not hesitated to reach down to the depths of human nature in order to secure the required type of emotional response and a single movement of the will. He has treated men in the mass and by reducing them to automatons he has gained the unity he desired.

The next step was to set up a new absolute. Some final and unchallengeable standard was necessary if social cohesion was to be achieved. Accordingly the state or the class was put forward as having absolute and eternal value and, in order to make it appear attractive, it was tricked out in the garments of religion. Race or blood, nation or class were exalted as the deities of the new day. By the absoluteness of the demands that were

made in their name the state or the class came to fill the religious vacuum and to gratify the instinct for worship and sacrifice. In a word they provided the centralizing influence so urgently needed in a disintegrated society.

In Russia the experiment took the form of Communism and exalted a classless society. In Italy and Germany the nation was put forward as the new centre of stability and co-ordination. All three have had a considerable measure of success. For each appealed to something that was deep and abiding in human nature. Communism appealed to the instinct for equality of status and opportunity; while Fascism and National Socialism appealed to the sentiment of patriotism. Each was an attempt to bring order out of chaos, to give coherence to a society that had fallen to pieces, and to provide some compulsory and absolute standard in a world where everything was optional and relative. By drastic control and regimentation, by making national or class unity the supreme good, they achieved at least part of their purpose. Society regained stability; a somewhat more equitable distribution of the necessities of life was secured, and the spectre of unemployment was expelled. But there was a price to pay. Personal freedom was lost, men were reduced to robots, information was replaced by propaganda, learning was prostituted to politics, the pursuit of truth was abandoned, and war was deliberately adopted as the instrument of national policy.

For the purposes of this book the important thing to note is that these absolutisms are confronted by another. For in their path stands the Christian Church with its belief in an absolute and final revelation and its message incarnated in a society that knows itself to be more than human. In the words of the Report of the Oxford Conference, "For the Christian Church the revelation of God in Jesus Christ is finally authoritative in every department of life. Whatever authority conflicts with this is a usurpation."¹ There can be no ultimate victory for any kind of totalitarianism so long as there are men who acknowledge another allegiance and dare to affirm "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord". It is clear from these words that if the totalitarians claim finality, so do the Christians. If the new absolutisms put forward a faith and advocate a way of life, they are confronted by a creed that is equally commanding and a way of life that claims to be alone adequate to the needs of men. One absolute is pitted against another. It is no accident that the totalitarians, whether in Germany or Russia or Japan, have no place for a transcendental religion or that they persecute the Christian Church and demand the severance of its links with other lands. They have an instinct that one day the Christian Church will stand across their path, and they are determined to cut its international

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, p. 206.

communications before they become too strong.

The claim here made is that what the totalitarians seek is to be found within the Christian fellowship.

The first thing to be said about the Christian Church is that it is supernatural. It differs from all other societies that take shape in social structure, in that it has its origin and being within the eternal purpose of God. The Church is fundamentally different from a club, a society, a state or any other social organization that owes its origin to the will of man. It is not a religious association in the sense that it came into existence because a company of like-minded men decided to associate themselves together for Christian worship and service. Such a view wrongly assumes that the individual Christian came first; that he and a number of other Christians united in free association to form a congregation, and that the conglomeration of such congregations makes up the Christian Church. That view is hopelessly individualistic and atomistic, and is clean contrary to the plain New Testament fact. There never was the lone and single Christian. The New Testament knows nothing of the saint, in the singular, but only of the saints, the beloved community, the household of God. From the first there was the group.

The Christian Church is therefore not something that man made, but something that God gave. It is governed not by political but by religious categories, and is built not from below but from

above, and has its source not in human desire but in the divine purpose. It is born not of the will of man but of God.

A supernatural society within the natural order is precisely what men need. The secularist, as we have seen, regards the world as a closed system, with no possibility of reference to any standard beyond itself. But there is a fatal flaw there. For the inevitable consequence of that view is that life goes to pieces, and it can only be saved from complete disintegration by the exaltation of some absolute around which it can gain coherence once again. It looks as though the only hope for human society lies in the discovery of something that transcends itself. If there is no authority that goes beyond the finite world, by what standard is anything to be judged? Where would be the justification of ethics and morality? What possible hope would there be of declaring a law which citizens and nations would obey? Where there is no final authority, no standard that reaches beyond the finite and the fallible, ethics and morality are impossible and life breaks down. Where there is no supernatural, the people perish.

The Christian claim is that the Church witnesses to eternal truth. The whole meaning of the Christian Church is that it goes beyond the human institution, and depends for its strength and sanctions on the supernatural. It speaks of an Absolute above the relativities of men's tastes

and customs. It does not proclaim human discoveries or the aspirations of men, it announces the word and act of God; it proclaims a message from beyond and calls upon man to listen.

The Christian claim is also that the Church is a divine society; the community of believers. Made up as it is of frail and fallible human beings, it is yet "the household of God". The fellowship that it offers is the richest known among men just because it is a fellowship that is not foreshortened, but reaches beyond the confines of this life. It reaches across the frontiers and includes all who profess and call themselves Christians; it also stretches across the centuries past and to come, and embraces the great cloud of witnesses. As the writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* in the second century wrote of the members of the Christian Church—"They find themselves in the flesh, and yet they live not after the flesh. Their existence is on earth, but their citizenship is in Heaven. They obey established laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives." The fellowship of this society is rich and abiding just because it is divine and stretches into the unseen and eternal.

The second thing to be said about the Christian Church is that it is universal; universal, be it noted, **not international**. To call the Church international is to start from the idea of division and move towards union, as though the World Church were the sum of all the separate sects. Whereas

the universal character of the Christian Church is inherent in its very nature. It is there to start with; given by God, not achieved by man. The universal Church is thus in its very essence different from such international organizations as the League of Nations or a Federal Union of States. These start from the given fact of separation and come together of their own volition to create something that is fairly called international. They are units held together by a common aspiration or a common pledge. The Christian Church, on the other hand, is a single organism, born of the will of God, having only one life and heart. This single fellowship spread itself from land to land throughout the world, taking on varying characteristics, being known under various names, and shooting off into various branches, but owning a common allegiance to the one Lord. "The unity of this fellowship", said the Oxford Conference, "is not built up from its constituent parts, like a federation of different states. It consists in the sovereignty and redeeming acts of its one Lord. The source of unity is not the consenting movement of men's wills; it is Jesus Christ whose one life flows through the Body and subdues the many wills to His."¹

The universal Church is thus something different from the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world. It is more than a cosmopolitan rally where men are bidden to be brotherly; it is

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, p. 58.

a society that declares to all who enter it, whatever their race or nation, "Sirs, ye are brethren." It is different from any and every other society on earth in that it owes its existence to the act of God in Christ. For that reason, and for no other, the Christian Church is by its very nature universal. The individual Christian thus knows himself to be a member of a society he did not make, a society that is by nature "one in all the earth". He also knows that this society has spread into every land and become universal in outward fact as well as in inward essence. It has stepped over the frontiers and gathered into its fold people of every type and kind, of every culture and tongue. It has rooted itself in every country and has yet remained a single fellowship in all the earth. In China it is Chinese, in Mexico, Mexican, and in Norway, Norwegian. Yet it is one family, the *Una Sancta*, "the household of God".

Here in this divine society, which has taken root in every land and yet remained one, is the answer to the need of this stricken and divided world. Mankind as a whole to-day, like Jung's modern man, is plainly "in search of a soul", seeking, that is to say, just what God has provided.

The third thing to be said about the Christian Church is that it holds the true meaning of community. It carries within itself a doctrine of society which reveals the secret of living together without sacrificing either the individual or the group. If this secret can be made widely known

it will be a contribution of the greatest value to the corporate life of men. How to live together with satisfaction and honour is one of the problems that the world has not yet been able to solve. In some countries or at some periods the corporate life has been organized in the interests of the individual citizen; the good of the community as a whole has been lost sight of; and selfish individualism has run riot. In other countries or at other periods the pendulum has swung to the other extreme and the interest of the group has been paramount; the personality of the individual has been disregarded or stunted; and impersonal collectivism has had unrestricted sway.

Is it possible for the Christian Church to show how the balance should be held, with justice and satisfaction to both interests? The claim is that it can, and the ground for this claim is to be found in the gospel.

As against every form of individualism the gospel proclaims that the individual is called to serve his fellows and thus to find his true self in society. "He that would be greatest among you let him be servant of all." As against impersonal collectivism the gospel affirms that the true society is one in which the individual realizes himself through the free give-and-take of person with person, the relationship which the New Testament calls "love". "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." In this way both the individual and society are safeguarded and the values of freedom

and co-operation are preserved. "The Church", writes Dr. J. H. Oldham, "is the realization of true community." "Its essential nature is fellowship between persons. It can be the manifestation of the true meaning of community because its life is rooted in the love of God. It is only the love of God which can deliver us from our self-centred isolation and set us free to love our fellow-men. The more we struggle to overcome our egocentricity the more egocentric we become. Only a love that comes to us from without and gives our lives a new centre in the One who loves us can break the fetters of our self-love. The Church is thus the sphere of free relations of mutual love and trust between persons, and is meant to be the witness to the world of the true relations of men with one another."¹

Here is the secret of corporate life for men and nations, a secret which the Church has only partially proclaimed and which the world has not yet heeded.

M. Jacques Maritain, looking upon the disintegration of modern society and the frantic attempts of despotism to force a new order of life into being, affirms that the upheavals of our time are the animal and elemental forces of life taking revenge upon spirit for having so long failed to show the true way of life. Without some new access of spiritual power he affirms that he cannot see how Western civilization can resist the germs

¹ *The Church and Its Function in Society*, by J. H. Oldham.

of death that are at work within it. Only by some acceptance on the part of the masses of the word of the gospel as authoritative, and of the Christian Church as the norm of human community, can a new Christendom spring up, in which there shall be both freedom and fellowship.

The one-time unity of Christendom has gone, and the attempts of modern dictatorships to impose a new unity have been carried through at such a cost that, where the human spirit has not been broken, it will probably rise in revolt before long. What the dictatorships have failed to see is that the only absolutism which the human spirit will tolerate is a divine one, the only unity which will fully satisfy the heart of man is one that is world-wide, and the only form of society that will be permanently acceptable is one which safeguards both the individual and the group. These three desiderata are fulfilled in the World Family of Christ's people. It is supernatural in origin, universal in range, and faithful to both individual and corporate values.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD CHURCH: GOD'S ANSWER TO A DIVIDED WORLD

It is desirable at this point to recall the course of our argument and to see where it has led us.

We began with an attempt to present a picture of the contemporary world, and we noted that one of its outstanding characteristics was the rising tide of opposition to the Christian movement, an opposition which in places was all the more bitter because of the rapidity of the growth of the Christian cause. We turned then to look at the Christian enterprise in lands where, from one or other angle, it is under fire. In Japan it is in jeopardy through the demands and increasing control of a state organized on totalitarian lines. In China it is under Japanese military pressure in the occupied areas, while in Free China it has the task of beginning its work again and rooting itself anew. In India it is confronted with the persistent opposition of an ancient religion which not only has an enduring hold upon the people, but is reinforced by the powerful appeal of political nationalism. In Africa it is being challenged to deal with the problem of a society that is falling to pieces before its eyes, and is being further challenged to supply a new corporate fellowship furnished with appropriate standards and sanctions before African society falls into complete decay. In the Negro world it has to meet the fundamental denial of

human fellowship that arises from the existence of a colour bar which, on the one hand, is deeply at variance with the gospel, and which, on the other, the white man seems to erect in most of the places in which he settles. In Europe the Christian Church is confronted with an attempt forcibly to unify a community life that had become atomized. This attempt, which takes the form of making the state an absolute, swings to the extreme of centralized and despotic rule, establishing authority at the cost of freedom and elbowing Christianity aside as irrelevant if not dangerous. We have seen the Christian Church adjusting itself to these threatening situations in the various countries where each is most acute, and on the whole making good its claim to have something of importance to contribute, some word to say or some demonstration to offer. Finally, we have seen that the Christian Church is precisely the kind of community that men have been seeking, a community that gives due recognition to both the individual and the group, that is superhuman in its origin and universal in its range. The Christian Church is in truth the society of men's desires.

The step that has now to be taken is to show that this universal society is living and working in the world to-day.

The simple truth is that in every country, north, south, east and west, Christians are to be found. The Christian Church is in fact universal. Through the persistent service of the missionary

enterprise, Christianity has spread to every corner of the globe. The World Church is not such stuff as dreams are made of, not even a far-off divine event for which to hope and pray, but a present reality in the daily life of every land. A man may travel round the world in any direction and call at any country, and he will find himself still in the fellowship of the Family of Christ.

In some countries, for example Japan or Turkestan, the increasing spirit of national exclusiveness may lead to the expulsion of foreign missionary agents, but the "native" Christians do and will remain. There is no proposal, at least at present, to "liquidate" them. Pressure and persecution may fall to their lot, but so far at any rate they have been allowed to live and remain in their home countries, bearing silent testimony to the existence of a wider community of which they form a part. Provided the authorities are assured that they are playing their part as loyal citizens in the national life, they will probably still be permitted to maintain their religious activities though perhaps their contacts with Christians in other lands may have to be severed. In no country have the Christians been entirely suppressed though they have been subjected to considerable pressure. The Church still lives, even in the most inhospitable lands. "The Holy Church in all the World" is as living a reality as the British Empire.

A somewhat unlooked-for consequence of the

spread of Christianity is the demonstration of the universal suitability of the Christian Church. People have been ready enough to agree that the Christian gospel is universally suitable, but they were not so sure about the Christian Church. It was, they said, so Western in its structure and style that it would not be likely to fit into the life of Oriental countries with their organized religious life and institutions. The facts have proved the contrary. Christianity has rooted itself in the most diverse countries, and without exception there is a visible community of people who meet for worship, maintain a corporate religious existence and undertake the task of evangelism. Whether in the tropics or the Arctic Circle, whether amongst a civilized or a primitive people, the Christian Church has adapted itself to the environment and shown a universal suitability.

Yet another unlooked-for by-product of the spread of Christianity is the sense of oneness which has been revealed. Empires have annexed countries or extended their protection over backward peoples. In some cases their action has evoked gratitude from the indigenous population; but not always. Often there have been wars and rumours of wars. The case has been very different with the Christian movement. As its emissaries have claimed country after country for Christ, and particularly as a Christian community has emerged, there has emerged with it, quite unsought, a sense

of oneness with the Christian people of other lands, especially with the Christians of the land from which the missionary came. Instead of the reaction of fear and suspicion towards strange folk which is natural to all men, there has almost always been a reaction of friendliness and a sense of having something in common. Wherever a Church has sprung up a feeling of kinship with Christians of other countries has accompanied it. It has arisen in the minds of people too primitive to understand any land or way of life but their own. It has arisen in the minds of people who have had good reason for resentment and hatred. It has arisen, moreover, of its own accord. This would not be so remarkable if there had been some common denominator, making mutual understanding and friendship easy, as in the case of an international organization for sport or for the advancement of science; but when it is recalled that there is the utmost variety of language and level of culture, of colour and political allegiance, it becomes clear that there is something about this society that is not to be explained under the ordinary categories.

The world-wide character of the Christian Church has been demonstrated by the series of Christian conferences or consultations on a world scale that have been held in recent years. At such conferences as Oxford in 1937, Madras in 1938, and Amsterdam in 1939, men and women were gathered together from every part of the

world as delegates from their branch of the Christian Church. These conferences were a sufficient proof both of the fact of the World Church, and of the calibre of those who belong to its fellowship. At Madras, for example, the delegates had literally come from the four corners of the earth. Seventy different nations were represented. When they were assembled the World Church was, for them at any rate, no longer an idea, but a reality present before them in flesh and blood. It was there in miniature before their eyes.

In further proof of what has been said above there was granted to the assembled delegates not mere camaraderie or goodwill, but a realization of what Christian fellowship in all its richness means. The majority had never seen or heard of one another before. They came from every type of background and tradition. They came from every scene of friction in the life of the contemporary world. Their numbers included Germans and non-Aryans, Arabs and Jews, Africaners and Bantu, Indians and British, Chinese and Japanese. They did not come to be of one mind on the issues that divided their countries, indeed they hardly made the attempt. On the contrary, they agreed to differ, but resolved to love. Above all they demonstrated that it is possible for men whose countries are hostile, or even at war, to remain in fellowship provided they belong to the Family of Christ. While their nations were at strife, they

as Christians remained in fellowship; and while others were sowing suspicion and mistrust and building barriers of enmity and opposition, they were increasing trust, understanding and mutual regard, and breaking down the middle walls of partition.

Turning to the growth of Christianity, it is probably true to say that few people realize the astonishing expansion that has taken place in the last hundred and fifty years. The old word *ecumenical*, with its reference to the whole inhabited world, is coming into use again in reference to the Christian Church, just because the facts of the situation mark it out as the right word. We can with truth speak of a World Church, in that it is to be found everywhere, and that it touches life at every point. Probably the greatest living authority on the world range of Christianity is Professor K. S. Latourette of Yale. His words on the achievement of the missionary enterprise sound like a romantic exaggeration, yet he is a sober historian, not given to stating more than the facts warrant. He writes:

"The very magnitude of the missionary enterprise is impressive. At its height, in the decade before the world-wide financial depression of 1929, it numbered roughly thirty thousand Protestant missionaries supported by contributions of not far from sixty million dollars a year, and about the same number of Roman Catholic missionaries supported by contributions of perhaps thirty million

dollars a year. These missionaries have scattered themselves on every continent and on almost every group of islands, from arctic wastes and ice to blazing deserts and the steaming heat of the tropics. The money which supports them has come primarily not from men of wealth, although these have contributed, but from millions of givers, most of them of limited means. Never has the world seen anything quite to equal it. Not only has the record never been approached by any religion, and not even in any previous century of Christianity itself, but never before in the history of the race has any group of ideas, religious, social, economic, or political, been propagated over so wide an area or among so many people by so many who have given their lives to the task. Never, moreover, has any movement of any kind, political, religious, or otherwise, been supported by the voluntary gifts of so many individuals scattered in so many different lands.

“The boldness of the missionary vision and the extent of the missionary accomplishment become all the more remarkable when we recall that even nineteenth-century missions were always a minority enterprise. The vast majority of the population of the Occident have been indifferent or hostile. Even the majority of professing Christians have assumed no share in their support. They were begun by very small groups, and while these increased and eventually numbered millions, yet they remained minorities. Missions have gone

with other elements from the Occident which have impinged on the rest of the world, but they have been the effort of only relatively small sections of Occidental peoples. The impact of the Occident has been composed of a number of complex and contradictory factors—slave-dealers and philanthropists, battleships and Bibles, purveyors of narcotics and unselfish physicians, exploiting representatives of capitalistic industrialism and high-minded colonial administrators. Of these factors missions have been only one. Their leaders have dared to attempt, however, to reach all mankind with the Christian gospel, that where sin—individual, social, international, imported, and indigenous—did abound, grace might much more abound.

“These nineteenth-century missionaries, in order to make their message intelligible, have in the course of a century given a written form to more languages than had previously been reduced to writing in all the history of the race. They have preached the Christian gospel as they have understood it in more tongues than have ever before been used to give voice to any one set of ideas. They have translated the Bible, in whole or in part, into more languages than any one book has ever before been put since books were first written, and they have distributed it by the millions of copies. They have been the schoolmasters of whole races and nations. They have introduced modern medicine to more peoples than have ever

before known any one system of medical practice. They have fought opium, prostitution, poverty, famine, superstition, poor labour conditions, polygamy, concubinage, and low concepts of life and have helped whole peoples to new paths. Best of all, through them hundreds of thousands have found in Christian faith and experience the beginnings of a new life with God, and Christian communities have been brought into existence and are perpetuating that faith and experience among their own people. On the Protestant side of the enterprise, these Younger Churches are being knit, with representatives of the Older Churches, into a more inclusive world-wide fellowship than ever Christianity in its Protestant form has known before.

“All of this may sound overlaudatory. Crudities there have been, and acts and incidents which all true friends of the enterprise must deplore. On the part of some of the contributors to missions and of some, although fewer, missionaries, has been a sense of superiority and condescension, born partly of ignorance, which is quite in opposition to the spirit of the New Testament. Blunders have been made and harm done. Missionaries and their supporters are, after all, human beings, with, at times, the unwisdom and the defects of character, the narrowness, the bigotry, and the petty selfishness which are to be found in even some of the wisest and greatest of men. On the average, however, missionaries have been, in

education and native ability, superior to the general run of their colleagues in similar professions at home—ministers, teachers, physicians, nurses—and in moral character and devotion have ranked as high and perhaps higher than any equally large group of men and women in the race's history. Most of the larger sending agencies have long been scrutinizing candidates more searchingly and carefully than has any major group of employers, or has any large educational or extensive religious institution in the Occident. The missionary movement of the past century has been the most notable outpouring of life, in the main unselfish, in the service of alien peoples which the world has ever seen."¹

If the outpouring of life and service and money has been remarkable, so also has been the result. In every part of the world to-day an indigenous Church is to be found, often small in numbers and weak in leadership. The Christian Church does not yet number more than one per cent of the population in any of the major mission fields except in certain relatively small and favoured areas. It is still a minority movement. None the less the Church has been planted, even in countries where it has had to face fierce opposition. In the Far East and the Middle East, in the Near East and Africa, in Latin America and the Island communities, Younger Churches are springing up, and some of them exhibiting the authentic marks of

¹ *Missions To-morrow*, by K. S. Latourette, pp. 12-15.

spiritual vitality, propagating the message, controlling their own life and supporting their own activities. It is in these Younger Churches that the hope of the future is centred. They are coming more and more into the focus of attention of the Christian Church as a whole. On their shoulders will increasingly rest the duty of carrying to completion the task of evangelizing their own countries and Christianizing all the interests and activities of its life.

The next stage in the realization of the World Church was to bring the various branches of the missionary enterprise together in effective co-operation, and then to link the Older and the Younger Churches as partners in a common task.

The process began at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, when representatives from practically all the Protestant missionary societies of the world came together. One of the major results of the conference was that co-operation became an accepted method in the missionary enterprise. In the years that followed in each of the great "sending" countries a council was called into being, whose business it was to co-ordinate, on an entirely voluntary basis, the activities of the missionary societies of the country in question. Such co-ordinating councils came into existence in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, France, Australia and South Africa, and gained the increasing confidence of the missionary societies that had their

home base in those lands. The next step was to set up similar councils in each of the major mission fields, which would, on a similar voluntary basis, co-ordinate the activities of the missionary societies working in the country and of the Younger Churches emerging there. Such National Christian Councils came into being in India, China, Japan, the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, the Near East, West Africa, South Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. These councils likewise won the increasing confidence of the societies and churches whose work they sought to draw together. The final step in this venture of co-operation was to call into being the International Missionary Council, which gathered into a single focus, and endeavoured to co-ordinate, the work of the missionary societies and Younger Churches of the whole Protestant world. It was the most daring attempt to unify the activity of Protestantism since the Reformation. The attempt has been successful beyond the wildest dreams of those who were mainly responsible for its initiation. The International Missionary Council is able to speak with some measure of confidence and authority for a larger body of Protestant people than any other institution in existence.

In 1928 the International Missionary Council called together a world conference at Jerusalem. The great concerns of the Christian Church at home and abroad, the main currents of thought in the world's life that were relevant to the Chris-

tian enterprise, and in particular the welfare of the Younger Churches, were considered. Ten years later the International Missionary Council summoned another world consultation, this time at Madras. The outstanding fact on this occasion was that the Younger Churches came into their own. At Edinburgh in 1910 only a tiny fraction of the membership of the conference represented the Younger Churches; at Jerusalem in 1928 something like 25 per cent of those present came from the Younger Churches, while at Madras in 1938 the proportion had grown to a full 50 per cent.

Side by side with this venture in world-wide Christian co-operation, other and related ecumenical movements came into being, particularly those known as the Faith and Order Movement, the Life and Work Movement, and the World Alliance. All three were the direct or indirect result of Edinburgh 1910; all three have carried out world consultations, for example at Lausanne, Stockholm and the Hague; all three gather together representatives of the Churches—including the Orthodox Church—as distinct from the missionary societies; and all three are concerned more with the Older than the Younger Churches. The Faith and Order Movement has to do with the achievement of unity, the Life and Work Movement with action on the part of the Christian Church on the great issues of the day, and the World Alliance with the promotion of inter-

national friendship and understanding through the Churches. These movements held two world conferences in succeeding months in 1937 at Oxford and Edinburgh. These gatherings of Christian men and women, representative of all the non-Roman Churches of the world, constituted, as the Archbishop of Canterbury said at Oxford, "a wholly new fact in Christian history". They revealed the possibility of a unity of Christians transcending barriers of race and nationality and bringing to the rescue of the kingdoms of the world the saving energies of the Kingdom of God.¹

The result of the two conferences was a decision to establish a permanent World Council of Churches whose basis is that they "accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour", and whose task it is to provide the Churches of the world with a regular means of common action, though without legislative authority. The World Council will seek to develop a Christian world-consciousness in the members of the Churches, to promote the study and practice of co-operation and unity between the Churches, and to facilitate common action. Already some seventy of the Older Churches, including most of the larger denominations in Great Britain and several of the Younger Churches, have accepted membership.

In less than thirty years from the holding of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 there has come to fruition one of the most significant develop-

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, p. 31.

ments in Christian history. On the sole basis of acceptance of Christ as God and Saviour, men and women in every part of the world, from every nation and type of culture have, through their Churches, voluntarily associated themselves together, reaching hands of fellowship across the frontiers and finding a sustaining comradeship in Christ.

The International Missionary Council and the World Council of the Churches constitute a delicate international fabric, as precious as it is delicate. Woven by the going to and fro, like shuttles in a machine, of people and messages and less tangible entities, and strengthened by the threads of mutual regard and genuine confidence, there is slowly coming into being a new and seamless robe to clothe the living Body of the Lord. The very delicacy of the fabric renders it peculiarly liable to damage, especially from the blows of war. But so far it has stood the test. A few rents have appeared, but considering the variety of the threads used, and their varying strength and resistance to strain, there can be no question that it has shown an almost miraculous capacity to endure.

It is important to notice the times when these world conferences were held. A glance at the dates is sufficient to prove that, though evil and destructive forces had been let loose in the world, the Christian enterprise was guided to take action before those forces became too strong. God acted first.

The Edinburgh Conference was held four years before the outbreak of the World War. When the delegates decided to initiate the movement which led to the formation of the International Missionary Council, they did not know that they were preparing the Christian Church for the straining days of war. Under the guidance of a Hand not their own they builded better than they knew. The result was that when war was let loose upon the world the Christian Church was ready; and by the time the war ended it had gained invaluable experience, and become possessed of a piece of tested international machinery.

The experience of the Christian Church was singularly similar in the case of the present war. World Conferences were held in 1937 at Oxford and Edinburgh, in 1938 at Madras, and in 1939 at Amsterdam. In the years that immediately preceded the outbreak of war, when the nations were drifting apart, the Christian Church was drawing together. Its representatives, by their thought and prayer and planning together, were rising above the barriers of division and strengthening their bonds of fellowship in Christ. The Churches of Christendom were probably never so near to one another in understanding and mutual regard as they were just before the black night of war closed upon the world.

It is no accident that the quarter of a century which has seen the rise of the totalitarian states and the outbreak of totalitarian war has also wit-

nessed the movement that, step by step, has led to the emergence of the World Church, with its total claim on men in Christ's name. The two movements have advanced *pari passu*, the Christian one being, if anything, always a little ahead. Those two movements present the alternatives that are before the human race to-day.

In similar fashion it is by a power more than human that the various sections of the Christian Church have been able to keep in touch and to co-operate in spite of the barriers of war. They know that wherever they are and in whatsoever estate, they are bound to one another because they are pledged to the one Lord. In spite of their "unhappy divisions" which rend the outward unity of the Church, and lead the cynic to declare that he believes in the Holy Catholic Church, but regrets that it does not exist, they share in a comradeship, a kind of church within the churches, which will outlive the strife of nations. The simple truth is that the Holy Catholic Church not only exists, but functions even in war-time.

When war broke out in 1914 German missionaries in allied territories were interned and later repatriated, and as soon as the German Colonies were captured the missionaries in those areas also were rounded up. Missionary money ceased to be sent from Germany, and the work of the German societies came to a standstill.

The question immediately arose, was this to be regarded as one of the tragic happenings of war

which had just to be accepted, or was there something that Christian people could and should do about it? The answer is one of the splendid but little-known chapters of recent Christian history.

The Edinburgh Conference had had the vision of international missionary co-operation, and here was an opportunity for its exercise. American, British and Swedish missions, working alongside the former German missions, took over responsibility for their work. It meant undertaking a considerable burden; but it was done. Missionaries were loaned and funds were raised. "Enemy" men and money were used to carry on German work.

When the present war broke out there was a similar situation. German missionary work came to a standstill; the missionaries were for the most part interned, and their support from home was cut off. Unhesitatingly the societies of the countries Germany was fighting against, and those of neutral countries, acting through the International Missionary Council, undertook to carry on the work and to provide the necessary men and money.

A new problem soon appeared. The widespread destruction that came upon Finland made it impossible for the Finnish Missionary Societies to maintain their service overseas, while the wholesale evacuation of the civilian population from the war zone in France crippled those societies that drew their main support from that area. As the war has progressed the situation has grown tragi-

cally worse. One country after another has had to see its missionary work brought almost to a standstill. The missionaries of Germany, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France are cut off from their home base, and the export of currency to meet their salaries and maintain their work has been prohibited by order of the totalitarian powers. In the early months of the war Scandinavian societies generously helped to support stranded German and Finnish missionaries. Now they are stranded themselves. The Dutch missions in the Netherlands Indies received generous subsidies from the Government in Holland. Now they have lost these as well as the free-will gifts of their home Churches. These countries that are not permitted to send money to their missions overseas normally raise a total of approximately £1,000,000 sterling every year. Of that vast sum nothing is available to-day.

Was the volume of Christian work represented by a million pounds to be abandoned? Once again the World Church began to function. Various British Missionary Societies made themselves responsible for the salaries of Finnish, Danish, Dutch, German and French missionaries now at work in the field. The B.B.C. co-operated in an appeal on behalf of the Scandinavian Missionary Societies. While the United States and Canada have, with noble generosity, set themselves to raise the vast sum of £500,000 or approximately half the annual expenditure of the Continental

societies affected. Gifts have come, particularly from America, to British societies whose home income is in jeopardy through the ravages of the war.

Even in the Mission Field funds have been raised. China, herself stricken, has raised funds to help German and Scandinavian missions, and Indian Christians have sent gifts as a token of their membership of the Christian family. If one member suffers all the members suffer with it.

Members of the World Church have come to one another's aid across the frontiers of war, not only by sharing one another's financial burdens, but also by keeping in touch in whatever ways have been possible and proper, and by maintaining the service of prayer.

A company of people recently gathered in a London church to pray for some sixty or seventy men and women from Asia, Africa and Europe, especially from Europe, who had in recent years enjoyed the hospitality of their church and been guests in their homes. A few sentences were spoken about each to recall them individually and vividly to mind, and when the remembrance of each was clear, they were held up one by one before God in prayer. That simple service of intercession revealed the Christian Church in action, performing a function that no other body attempts, and setting in motion forces that will still be active when the last guns have spoken. This action has its parallel in China and Japan where, on both

sides of the fight, prayers are daily offered for Christians on the other side. A Canadian has recently told of a visit he paid to the home of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in Chungking. He says that he was invited to be present at family prayers which the General himself conducted, reading from the Bible and then praying. "I never expect to hear such a prayer again in my life," writes the Canadian visitor. "The General began with a simple expression of thanks for personal safety, then he added thanks for the courage of the nation under fire; then he prayed for strength for men in the field and along the firing line, and he prayed for strength for himself. But the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him and help China not to hate the Japanese people. He prayed for the Japanese Christians and all the suffering people of Japan. He prayed for those who were bombed and for forgiveness for those who dropped bombs."¹

The World Church, it will be seen, is not an ineffective dream, but a living community performing a unique function in a war-divided world, reaching across the frontiers and holding together in love and honour those who belong to its fellowship. "If war breaks out," said the Oxford Conference, "then pre-eminently the Church must manifestly be the Church, still united as the one Body of Christ, consciously offering the same prayers that God's Name may be hallowed, His

¹ Quoted in *The Church in Action*, by W. Paton.

Kingdom come and His will be done in both, or all, the warring nations. This fellowship of prayer must at all costs remain unbroken.”¹

The war was scarcely a fortnight old when the Directors of one of the missionary societies of Great Britain adopted the following resolution:

“After giving careful consideration to the position created by the outbreak of war and its effect upon the work of the Society at home and abroad, the Directors resolve to reaffirm that the sole aim of the London Missionary Society is to preach the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God. They recall the fact that the Society was born in the midst of war, and they believe that now in the midst of war it is being called to a re-dedication to its task. They see in the present international calamity another proof of man’s need for the knowledge of Christ.

“The outbreak of war has emphasized, as nothing else could, the importance of the Society’s task. The Directors affirm their confidence in the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the one hope of a stricken and sinful world, and they call the Churches in Christ’s name to an even greater effort to preach the Gospel to every creature. They hold the view that in time of war the Christian Church as a whole and the missionary enterprise in particular, has the special task of holding together in the one fellowship of Christ’s people the members of the World Church. They affirm that as nothing can

¹ *The Churches Survey Their Task*, p. 59.

separate us from the love of God, so nothing must be allowed to divide men and women, of whatever nation or race, who belong to Christ.

“The Directors believe that the chief concern of all friends of the L.M.S. must be to carry on the work God has given it to do. They are assured that to keep on loyally with the constructive work of the Christian enterprise at a time when destructive forces have been let loose, is the greatest service which the Christian Church can render. They therefore resolve to maintain to the utmost the task for which the Society was brought into being, and they call upon the Churches at home, the missionaries in the field and the members of the Younger Churches with which they are associated, to join with them in a high resolve and a determined effort to offer Christ to a needy world.”

At about the same time a letter reached Britain from one of the best known missionary leaders of Germany. “With these lines I have to say farewell to you. We have to expect to be called for military service. What this means for men like ourselves, who were blessed in these years by friendship and trust, by fellowship and love of Christians all over the world, cannot be expressed in human words. And now we have to go the way into darkness. We are not alone on this way. Jesus Christ is being with us. And if the day comes when the light of God and His mercy will shine again upon our peoples and Churches, then remember, my friend, if I am

still alive, that there is a friend of yours in whose heart the spiritual heritage of thirteen years of missionary work does not fade away, then remember your very thankful friend who will be ready for all the work for God after this time of great temptation. I shall remain a man of the Christian Mission in spite of all that will come upon us during the following years.”¹

It is clear that the task of holding the members of the World Church together in one fellowship is being performed. The importance of that fact is not easy to exaggerate, though it is quite possible to rely too much upon it. The Christian Church, although of divine origin, is made up of very ordinary and fallible human beings. Under the strain of war they may break down and the Church once again may fail the world and its Lord. But at least God has pointed the way to the solution of our troubles. He has shown us the secret of living together in national and international life. He has provided a living community which, like the pattern in the mount, can be the model for all the associations and groupings of men.

In his book on *Christian Fellowship*, the late Archbishop Soderblom says that a great Russian theologian lecturing at Upsala on reunion, illustrated his point from the houses of his native land. “A Russian house”, he said, “may be divided into several rooms by low walls. Up above there are no dividing walls; down below the people live in

¹ *The Hour and its Need*, by W. Paton, p. 21.

separate rooms." In a moment of insight, Edward Shillito¹ linked this with the word of the Lord in the Gospel: "Say to the good man of the house, the Master saith, Where is my guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples. And he will show you a large upper room furnished and ready; and there make ready for us." And he went on to describe the world as a terrace of one-storey houses. "Then I saw as in a dream, a large Upper Room, stretching over all the low, rambling buildings. Into it there led stairways from each of the houses. Up these ways I saw the children of men mounting till they found themselves and each other in the one meeting place. There were peoples of many tongues. They came from the East and West, from the North and South. . . . The large Upper Room was furnished with all truth and beauty, with all the visions and all the glories which the children of men have to bring."

It is in that vision that the hope of the world lies. Only in a community that is universal and rises above the dividing walls of caste and ideology, of race and nation will men be able to walk in peace and confidence; and only in one that is of supernatural origin, that "cometh down out of heaven from God", will they find the absolute authority whose service is perfect freedom. When their life conforms to the principles of this community and its gospel "there shall be no curse any

¹ *Nationalism: Man's Other Religion*, p. 137 seq.

more, for the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it ”.

The Christian Church is to-day under fire in a hostile world. It is beset behind and before. Rarely, if ever, has it been attacked by so many and such powerful foes. Can it survive, or will it be driven again to the catacombs? In the lands where it has been longest established it is neglected if not repudiated, and those lands are now areas of aggressive paganism. While in the lands where it is a recent arrival it would seem to be too youthful and puny to count for much. By all human reckoning the forces arrayed against the Christian Church are too strong and its days appear to be numbered.

But that is not the final word. In many quarters there are elements of hope and evidence of new life. The Church is facing its foes with courage and maintaining its witness with resourcefulness. It is clearly God's will to carry out, through the world-wide Church, His purpose of redemption. In that task every Christian has a place.

Our Father who art in heaven, grant that, as Thy Son Jesus Christ held secret communion with Thee and came forth into the world of men to manifest in the common incidents and in the testing experiences of life Thy divine glory, so there may be in us the same rhythm of a life both raised above the world, and lived fearlessly and unshrinkingly in the world.—J. H. OLDHAM.

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